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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.G.S.,
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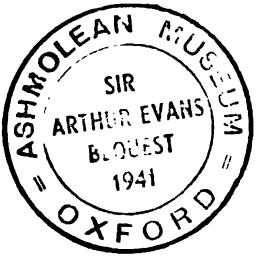

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

SICILIAN STUDIES.

The present paper contains an attempt to do something towards fixing the exact period at which the coins of the various cities of Sicily were respectively issued. This work has been undertaken, so far as the coinage of Syracuse is concerned, by Mr. B. V. Head, in the paper which appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1874. If Mr. Head had extended his essay to all Sicily, he would have left small room for future labourers in that field. This, however, did not enter into his plan. My scheme of arrangement differs considerably from his. It would have been possible to take up the history of each of the Sicilian cities in turn as he took up that of Syracuse, to divide each history into periods, and to assign to each period, from a variety of considerations, the coins which seem to belong to it. But such a work, however useful it might have been, would greatly have exceeded the limits of an article in the Numismatic Chronicle, and a further difficulty would have arisen because I probably could not have obtained impressions of all the Sicilian coins scattered through the museums of Europe, in order to make the lists complete. I have therefore limited myself to a much narrower field.

There are three sources whence we may gain from the study of a coin data for fixing its period. In the first place, its types may have a political reference, or be for other reasons such as could only have been used at a particular period. For example, the pieces bearing the name of a king must almost certainly have appeared during that king's lifetime. Or, again, if a city was to our knowledge destroyed at a certain date, its coins must have been issued before that date. Or, once more, if the ruler of one city made himself, at a known time, master of a second city, and among the coins of this second city there appear some with the types of their conqueror, the epoch of these pieces also can be almost with certainty concluded. Of course none of these tests can be used in a merely mechanical way. Cases might easily be found where a slavish abiding by them would lead to error. But, used intelligently, they certainly afford valuable indications.

The second set of indications useful for the present purpose is to be found from a study of the mythological character and the style of art in the types of coins. Within the last half century very much has been done to fix the date of the appearance in Greece of various styles of art and modes of treatment. The utterances of ancient critics and travellers, especially Pliny and Pausanias, have been examined in every light, and the remains of antiquity compared in a more intelligent spirit. And as coins, carelessly executed as they often are, yet reflect accurately the influences of contemporary art, it is clear that much may be gained by comparing their characteristics with those of ancient monuments whose date can be determined; just as, on the other hand, coins of known date will fix the period of statues and gems. For instance, we know that the personal traits of Alexander the Great

served to modify the ideal representation of the human head in the days of Lysippus, and it is generally possible from knowledge of this fact alone to determine whether a coin bearing as type a young male head belongs to the period before or the period after Alexander. Again, a representation of a male head with the hair bound in a krobylus must almost always be classed not later than the early part of the fifth century; while wavy and artistically spread locks never appear before the age of Scopas and Praxiteles.

The third set of indications are drawn from the history of epigraphy. This study, indeed, is more backward than could be wished, but still has made decided progress since the impulse imparted to it by Boeckh. In the case of Attic inscriptions at all events, we now know with tolerable accuracy when particular forms of letters came into use and went out of use. It is generally, however, only in the third place, and with great caution, that we can at present rely on the inscriptions of our coins for fixing their dates. That R precedes P, and E, H, are safe propositions enough, but do not give us the exact and minute information which we desire.

In addition to the data gained from these sources something may usually be inferred from fabric, especially as to coins of an early period; and much may often be learned from considering the monetary standard used. I pass these things by lightly, because in the particular case of Sicily they do not aid us much, the monetary standard in that island being almost uniformly the Attic, and the fabric much the same at all periods after the first.

I venture boldly to state that there is scarcely any coin of Sicily known, save those of the Roman period, the date of which cannot, by one or another of the above means, be fixed within twenty or thirty years.

It is of great importance to observe the above order in settling the dates of our coins. Historical data, if they be certain and definite, give us a safe ground-work or skeleton, leaving only the details to be filled in from other sources. And style of art, up to the end of the third century, B.C., is an almost infallible guide for placing our pieces, when once we have learned to distinguish genuinely archaic from mere archaistic or imitative work. That style is a safer guide than epigraphy, will soon become evident to any one who tries to arrange a series of Greek coins, first by the style only, and secondly by the inscription only.[1] It appears that new forms of letters were not usually in general acceptance until about a score of years after their first introduction, whereas it would be difficult to prove any such uncertainty and fluctuation in the progress of types. But evidently, to secure a satisfactory result, we must make simultaneous use of every circumstance which will throw any light on the subject.

I.

There are several events of known date which can be shown to have had an influence on Sicilian coinage. These I will briefly indicate in succession. But first it is impossible not to express regret that there is a want of data for satisfactorily determining the exact period when the Sicilian Greeks began coining money. There is in the West no trustworthy tradition corresponding to those in the East which associate the names of Pheidon the Argive, of Crœsus, of Darius, and of Solon with the early

[1] In the "Berliner Blätter," vol. vi., Dr. Schubring has tried to arrange the coins of Gela in chronological order from a study of their epigraphy. The result is anything but satisfactory.

issues of money. Taking an *a priori* view one might imagine that Sicily, being so fully advanced in all the pursuits of civilisation, would not be far behind Ægina and Samos in issuing coins. Of the truth of this view, however, doubts will at once suggest themselves on a more careful inquiry. It is almost certain that Italy preceded Sicily in developing a coinage. This is proved both by the more archaic letters found on the Italian coinage, and its more primitive fabric. Thus, ϟ for ΙΙ, and Μ for Σ, are by no means unusual on South Italian coins; on the coins of Sicily these forms do not appear. ⊙ for Ο is common at Croton, Caulonia, &c.; in Sicily, it is only met with on the very earliest pieces of Leontini. The peculiar fabric, again, which is characteristic of those coins of Lucania, Calabria, and Bruttii, which are reasonably supposed to be the most ancient, the fabric, the distinctive mark of which is the appearance of the obverse type *incuse* on the reverse, has an older look than anything Sicilian. Now we have a few data for fixing the period of these very early coins of Italy. Among the most primitive of them are those of Sybaris and Siris. But Sybaris was destroyed by the Crotoniates in 510 B.C., and Siris a few years earlier by the Crotoniates and Sybarites combined. The coins which we possess of these cities must have been issued shortly before their destruction, otherwise we should find varieties of style and epigraphy which would testify to an earlier and a later issue. These coins, then, must be attributed to the period immediately preceding 510 B.C. None of the coins of Italy, then, and *a fortiori* none of those of Sicily, can be attributed to a much earlier period than this.

If we turn to the few scraps of historic tradition which give light on the question of the antiquity of Sicilian coin-

age, we shall come to much the same result. The city of Camarina was destroyed by the Syracusans about 553 B.C., and not refounded until the time of Hippocrates. Now, the most ancient coins of Camarina which we possess have a very early appearance (Pl. IV. 12, 13), and must be nearly as old as any Sicilian money, save that of the Chalcidian colonies. But these coins must undoubtedly be given to the period after about 495 B.C. For it is out of the question to place them in the first half of the sixth century, even if there were any probability that Camarina, being at that time a mere dependency of Syracuse, would then issue coins. Again, if we compare the coinages of the sister cities of Rhegium and Messene, we shall find at both cities, among their most archaic coins, a sudden appearance of the types of a lion's and a calf's head. These are the well-known types of Samos, and their occurrence in Sicily is thus explained:—It is said that after the taking of Miletus by the Persians in 494, a band of Samians sailed westwards to Sicily, being invited by the Greek colonists there to settle at Kale Akte. Landing, however, at Locri Epizephyrii, they were persuaded by Anaxilaus of Rhegium to seize the city of Zancle, in the absence of its warriors. This was successfully accomplished, and the Samians held Zancle for some years until their former ally, Anaxilaus, turning against them, dispossessed them and gave Zancle to a mixed colony, when the city took the name of Messene. This event must have occurred about 490—480 B.C. It must, however, be confessed that this story excites some serious doubts. It does not seem to account at all for the appearance of Samian types at Rhegium; the Samians were never masters there. Nor does it satisfactorily account for those types at Messene. For the name Messene was

not given to the city until, as we are told, the Samians were dispossessed, whereas the inscription on the pieces of Samian type is ΜΕΣΣΕΝΙΟΝ. Be that as it may, even if some errors be assumed in the historians, we have grounds for supposing that it was just at this period that Samian influence was great at Rhegium and Messene, and that the Samian coins date from this period. But these coins (see Pl. I. 3) are nearly the earliest extant specimens from Rhegium and Messene, or Zancle. Before them there are only known at Rhegium the extremely rare piece with an incuse bull on the reverse, and at Zancle a set of pieces struck nearly about the same time, and bearing very archaic letters. (Pl. I. 2.) It is then improbable that Rhegium or Zancle minted coins more than a few, say twenty years, before 490 B.C.

If we turn to Syracuse, we shall find nothing to discountenance this view. Mr. Head[2] attributes a few coins to the times of the Geomori, but places none of those on which Nike is introduced (Head, Pl. I. 3, 4) earlier than 488, when Gelon is recorded to have conquered in the chariot-race at Olympia. That this is the occasion of the appearance of Nike had been before surmised by Mr. Poole,[3] and I am able to bring an important argument to the support of the theory. Leontini was, as well as Syracuse and Gela, under the rule of Gelon and Hieron in succession, and it is remarkable that at these three cities, and at these three cities only, the very early coins all bear a chariot, the horses of which are crowned by Nike. Indeed, the reverses of all the early coins of these cities are so much alike that it would be usually impossible, without turning the coin

[2] P. 7.
[3] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. x., part 3, N.S.

round, to judge to which of the three it belonged. I see no way of accounting for this very remarkable fact unless we assume that at the time these pieces were issued the cities were all in the same hands. And this was only the case after 485. Thus it would appear exceedingly probable that Leontini and Gela began the issue of coins after 488, the date of Gelon's victory, and that Syracuse issued none but the rare pieces with incuse reverse until 485. And if, in spite of this evidence, it is still maintained that some of the coins attributed by Mr. Head to Gelon may perhaps belong rather to the rule of the Geomori, yet they must not be thrown back many years or a conflict would arise with the testimony of the well-known Helmet, dedicated by Hieron at Olympia from Tyrrhenian spoils. On this valuable monument the forms of the letters are nearly the same as those on the earliest Syracusan coins, with the single exception that ϙ is used in the coins where we find K in the helmet: the change from ϙ to K taking place apparently about 478.[4] It is quite reasonable to suppose the period of time which elapsed between the issue of the Demaretion and the appearance of those ornate coins which were in use at the time of the Carthaginian invasion of 409 was vastly greater than the period which elapsed between the issue of the oldest Sicilian pieces and that of the Demaretion. All these facts point to the conclusion that it was the very last years of the fifth century which witnessed the introduction of the art of coinage from the East.

We have thus reached three dates, 510—500 B.C. for the earliest Sicilian coins, of which a specimen is given in Pl. I. 2; 488 for the very earliest pieces of Gela (Pl. I. 1); and

[4] Num. Chron., 1874, p. 7.

490—480 for the Messenian coin, Pl. I. 3. A fourth date is furnished by history for coins of Catana and Himera. Catana, as one of the great Chalcidic cities of Sicily, was usually on bad terms with her Dorian neighbour Syracuse. About 476, Hieron of Syracuse completely depopulated the city, removing the inhabitants to Leontini, and refilling the walls with a large body of colonists from Syracuse and Peloponnesus. The name of the city he changed to Aetna, and Pindar informs us how Hieron in his Olympian victory was proclaimed an Aetnaean.[5] But in 461 the old inhabitants of Catana returned, and Hieron's colonists were obliged to retire to Inessa, to which they gave the name of Aetna. It is more than probable that during these fifteen years were struck the coins which suddenly interrupt the Catanaean series, bearing on the obverse a Seilen-head, and on the reverse a thunderbolt, with the name of Aetna. For these same types occur both earlier and later in the coinage of Catana. It cannot, indeed, be rigorously proved that these coins were not struck at Inessa, immediately after its name had been changed to Aetna, by the colonists expelled from Catana. This, however, is far less probable, for it is unlikely that Hieron's colonists would use types so distinctly belonging to the Chalcidic people of Catana, except within the walls of that city, where they may have been desirous of keeping up the chain of historic tradition, and making the change of masters which the city had undergone less glaring to the world. At Inessa, the same men would feel nothing but hostility for everything Catanaean.

One of these coins I have represented (Pl. I. 6), and it is interesting as probably fixing to the period 476—461 the

[5] Pind. Pyth. i.

use of the form Λ—At Himera, at nearly the same time, foreign rule prevailed. Theron of Agrigentum made himself master of the place about 481, and it remained under his government and that of his son Thrasydaeus until shortly after 472. An evident trace of this Agrigentine supremacy is found in the adoption of the Agrigentine crab for reverse type of the coinage at Himera. A specimen of this coinage, 481—472, is given (Pl. I. 4). Leontini still earlier than Catana had fallen under the sway of its Dorian neighbours. It had been conquered by Hippocrates of Gela before 492, and seemingly did not recover its independence until the expulsion of Thrasybulus in 466. On examining the coinage of Leontini we find, as has already been remarked, that it bears evident signs of this subjection. Thus, there is found at Leontini, in exact correspondence with the coins of the Demaretion class at Syracuse, a remarkable piece, bearing the symbol of the lion, just like the Demaretion itself, but substituting on the obverse the head of Apollo surrounded by laurel-leaves, for the head of Artemis or Nike surrounded by dolphins. The date of this piece can therefore be accurately fixed to 480—478. It is represented (Pl. I. 5,) and forms a landmark in the series of Leontini, being especially noticeable as the first coin on which the form ⋎ is found.

It is an unfortunate circumstance that we know so very little of Sicilian history between 460 and 415, and therefore that temporal indications here mostly fail us. The next event of real importance for the determination of the date of Sicilian coins is the great Carthaginian invasion of 409. Early in that year the storm which was destined to destroy the fairest cities of Sicily broke. Selinus was the first to yield to the arms of Hannibal, and

Himera soon followed. A second expedition was fatal in 406 to Agrigentum, and in 405 to Gela and Camarina. Even the cities which escaped the sword of the Carthaginians had not much to congratulate themselves upon. No sooner was Dionysius of Syracuse free from the fear of Carthage than he turned his arms against the surviving Chalcidian cities of Sicily, Naxus, Catana, and Leontini; all of which cities fell under his power in 403. Messana, the only remaining large city of Sicily besides Syracuse, was taken and destroyed by Himilcon in 396. Only Syracuse escaped. Thus an exact date is furnished us for the sudden cessation of coinage which we know from the coins extant to have taken place in all the Sicilian cities except Syracuse about this time.

Of all the events recorded by the historians of Greece, those which I have just mentioned are perhaps to the present purpose the most important. In the midst of the finest period of Sicilian artistic productiveness we get by this means an exact record of the perfection then attained. Nay, more, we can accurately gauge the progress made both in idea and in realisation during the thirteen years which elapsed between the fall of Selinus and that of Messana. When I come to the subject of the development of types, I shall make fuller use of the exact information thus furnished us. At present my concern is to show that no other date for the fine tetradrachms of Gela, Leontini, Selinus, &c., except that here assigned to them, is at all possible. If they were not issued in 409—396 it is clear that they must belong either to an earlier or a later period. But they cannot have been issued at an earlier period, for if these coins were not the last issued by the various cities before their fall, where are the last? They must have been buried in

large quantities for fear of the Carthaginians; why have none been found? Nor can they have been struck in the time of Dionysius. He was indeed master of Gela, Agrigentum, and other cities, and might have there issued coins similar to the beautiful pieces which mark his reign at Syracuse. But Selinus and Himera were never rebuilt; therefore it is totally impossible to ascribe any coins of these two cities to the time of Dionysius. And if the pieces of Himera and Selinus were issued in the last years of the fifth century, so were the coins of Gela, Agrigentum and the rest. Coins of this period of Leontini (Pl. I. 7), Catana (Pl. I. 10), Himera (Pl. I. 9), Selinus (Pl. I. 8.), and Messana (Pl. I. 11), will be found in my plates.

It is remarkable that at Selinus, which first fell, Ω does not occur on the coins, and it is extremely rare at Himera. At Agrigentum and Camarina, again, Ω had scarcely established itself at the time of their destruction; but it is frequently found on coins of the fine period at Catana and Messana. We may safely hence infer that Ω was introduced into the Sicilian alphabet in the years 410—405. The only objection to this is the fact that Ω does not seem to appear at Leontini, at all events on tetradrachms, whereas Leontini was not destroyed until 403. But it must be observed that, as early as 422, Leontini was merely a subject city to Syracuse, and seems to have been quite depopulated until the arrival there of the Agrigentines in 406. It is therefore by no means improbable that the latest tetradrachms of Leontini which have come down to us were issued before 422, indeed the somewhat archaic character of the head of Apollo on them tends to confirm this supposition. It will be remembered that Ω was introduced at Athens in the

Archonship of Euclides B.C. 403, and that in this movement Athens was somewhat behind the rest of Hellas.

The next date is afforded by traditions handed down to us of the foundation of certain new cities in the place of those destroyed. Thermae Himeraeae is said to have been founded in 407—5, and Tyndaris in 395. Of course it would not be safe to assume that these cities began to issue coins at once after their foundation, or that the coins which have come down to us were issued so early, but it is quite fair to assume that they cannot be earlier. If, therefore, we have coins of which the style seems to fix the limit in a downward direction, the date of foundation of the cities will give us a limit in the upward direction. Now we have pieces of both Thermae and Tyndaris, which belong to a period earlier than that of Timoleon, which was marked, as we shall soon see, by strong peculiarities of style. As Thermae was for some time after its foundation subject to Carthage and Tyndaris to Dionysius, we can scarcely be wrong in assigning the above-mentioned coins of these cities to the period 375—345. See Pl. II. 1, 2.

Another coin, which is assigned to the same period, is that of Entella, struck by the Campanian mercenaries, who after fighting for Carthage during the first war with Dionysius settled in that city in 404. They retained possession until 368, when Dionysius conquered the city, and apparently later still. About 345, the city was in the hands of Timoleon. Some years after 404, another body of Campanians seized upon Aetna, and maintained themselves there until 339, when Timoleon conquered them also. Now we possess coins of both these cities with the inscription ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ, which can only have been issued at this period. That

they were issued towards the end of the period is proved both by their strong resemblance to the coins of Timoleon, and by the interesting fact that the piece of Aetna, as Dr. Friedländer[6] has remarked, seems to be rather later than that of Entella, and may have been issued after the fall of the latter city. The coin of Entella represented (Pl. II. 3) may therefore be safely assigned to the twenty years before 345.

The next epoch in Sicilian history is marked by the arrival of the Corinthian Timoleon in 345. At that period the cities of Sicily were again sunk in the extremest misery in consequence of the anarchy which followed the death of Dionysius the Elder. The story of the embassy to Corinth, of Timoleon's arrival, his splendid victories, the benefits which he conferred upon Sicily, and the gratitude with which he was repaid need not be told again in this place. The only thing which now concerns us is the traces which he left on the Sicilian coinage. As he refounded or conquered nearly all the cities of the Siceliots it is natural that we should find in his time a marked renovation of their money as well as their institutions. The Duc de Luynes,[7] and after him Mr. Head, have therefore attributed to the time of Timoleon a set of coins of a peculiar fabric, very thick and heavy, and deriving their types mostly either from the coinage of Corinth or the worship of Zeus Eleutherius, such types as the head of the Corinthian Pallas, the free horse, and Pegasus. Closely connected with these pieces is another class bearing types from the

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[6] Berl. Blät., i. p. 266. The account of the fates of Entella and Aetna given by Dr. Friedländer here, according to which one body of Campanians occupied both cities in turn, cannot be reconciled with the account given by Diodorus (cf. xiv. 48, 61 with xv. 73 and xvi. 67, 73).

[7] Revue Numismatique, 1843.

worship of Demeter and Persephone, such as the ears of corn and torch, or from the worship of Apollo Archegetes, at whose altars Timoleon sacrificed immediately on his arrival. There are also coins with other types, which are by style and fabric closely connected with these. We thus get a large genus of coins which clearly belong to one period, and that a period of industry and improvement. The coins of Syracuse of the period will be found in Mr. Head's plates VI. VII., and specimens from other cities exist in the British Museum under Adranum, Agrigentum, Agyrium, Camarina, Centuripa, Gela, Messana, and Tyndaris, all of which cities are recorded to have fallen into the power of Timoleon, and many of them to have been re-colonized by him. Two will be found in my plates (Pl. II. 4, 5).

That this class of coins belongs to the time of Timoleon is *primâ facie* very probable, and one or two circumstances render it almost certain. Every one who has given any attention to the subject must allow that the question lies only between the times of Dionysius and Timoleon. Now, if we examine the coins of Aetna, published by Salinas in his great work, we shall find the following types:—Head of the Corinthian Pallas, head of Persephone, and the free horse. The coins bearing these types clearly belong to the class above spoken of. But Aetna was, during the whole reign of Dionysius, in the power of the Campanian mercenaries, who there issued the coins above mentioned, with the legend ΚΑΜΠΑΝΩΝ. The present pieces, then, can scarcely have appeared until Timoleon took the city in 339. But if these belong to Timoleon's time it is likely that all of the same kind also do. Again coins with the types and fabric which I have described are conspicuously absent, so far as I have been able to observe, at Leontini and Segesta. The latter of

these cities never fell into Timoleon's hands, being at that time constantly dependent on Carthage. The former was the head-quarters of Timoleon's rival Hicetas, after whose defeat it was incorporated with Syracuse. The supposition then that all this class of coins bears witness to the energy of Timoleon agrees equally well with the positive and negative evidence, it accounts for the appearance of the pieces where they do appear, and their absence where they do not appear. We need therefore have small hesitation in accepting it.

The next coin (Pl. II. 6) is a striking one. It is of Syracuse, and presents the head of Zeus, distinguished by very short hair, on the obverse, and on the reverse a thunderbolt and eagle. From a comparison of this piece with the coins, also bearing eagle and thunderbolt, struck by Alexander the son of Neoptolemus King of Epirus, it will be seen that it bears evident traces of the influence of that prince, who was warring in the south of Italy in the years 332—326 B.C. To this period our coin can with reasonable certainty be fixed.[8]

It must be confessed that for the period from the expedition of Timoleon to the capture of Syracuse by the Romans in 212, the most frequent and trustworthy indications as regards dates are to be found in the history of Syracuse. There Agathocles, Hicetas, Hieron, and Hieronymus, succeeded each other, sometimes a brief period of democracy intervening; and as the names of all these princes are found on the coins they issued, it is clear that we have in the case of Syracuse for this period an exact and complete means for fixing the date of each coin. I merely give one specimen of each of these princes (Pl. II. 7, 8, 12, 13), in order to complete

[8] Head, p. 33.

my plates, referring to Mr. Head's paper for all particulars. He gives for these princes the following dates:—Agathocles, 317—289; Hicetas, 287—278; Hieron, 275—216; Hieronymus, 216—215. In addition to these pieces we must quote one which, though of Sicilian fabric, was minted by Pyrrhus, who was in Sicily 278—275. (Pl. II. 11.)

Agrigentum will furnish us with one more date. That city was, about the years 287—279, under the dominion of King Phintias, who struck coins with his own name on them. (Pl. II. 9.) Whether these pieces were issued at Agrigentum, or, as Colonel Leake thinks, at the new town of Phintias, which he founded, does not affect the present question. In either case their date is certain. Lastly the city of Messana was seized about 282 by the Mamertini. The earliest of the multitudinous coins which bear their name (Pl. II. 10) may be safely assigned to the few years succeeding that of their entry into possession of the city, as they are extremely like the last pieces issued by the Messanians before the conquest. I add a coin of Agrigentum under Augustus (Pl. II. 14), to show the forms of the letters in his time.

II.

The second means for the determination of the dates of Sicilian coins is their fabric and style of art. And it is most fortunate that the indications afforded us by this means are most numerous and valuable just in those periods when historical data most fail us, notably, during the fifth century. The development of art in Sicily was steady and uniform, and at the same time of a most astonishing rapidity, a period of twenty or even ten years sometimes sufficing to completely change the character of a representation.

As to the mere fabric or workmanship there is not much to be said. As we might have expected from the comparatively late origin of the Sicilian coinage, the rude incuse square of the reverse does not appear, except at Selinus only. An incuse square of a modified character appears at Himera, Zancle (Pl. I. 2), and Syracuse (Head, Pl. I. 1, 2), but it passes away very soon, and in its place we get the fabric which distinguishes Sicilian coins of all periods. If any Sicilian coin be taken up, there will be noticed a small projecting piece on the edge at each side. This proves that the workmen of the mints cast at once in a series of small round chambers connected by narrow channels a number of lumps of metal of the same size and fineness. These lumps were afterwards, when the metal was nearly or quite cold, impressed with stamps on the obverse and reverse, and the narrow bands severed which connected lump with lump. This process of first casting and then striking went on at the Sicilian mints until quite a late period. In the tetradrachms which came after the Syracusan coins with incuse square on reverse, the chariot, which is really the obverse type, is struck on a flat surface, but the head of a divinity, which is really the reverse, though writers usually call it the obverse, is struck in a circular depression or incuse circle (Pl. I. 1). This soon loses its distinctness and only survives in the concave shape of the reverse of coins (Pl. III. 13). This concavity lasts almost until the period of finest numismatic art. Just at that period, *i. e.*, about 412, a complete change takes place. The chariot now becomes the true reverse of the coin and the side on which it appears is now concave rather than the side on which the head of the divinity appears (Pl. I. 10). In the fine period at some cities, as Syracuse, (Head, Pl. III. 9, 11) we find a resumption of the incuse

square. To the next period, that of Timoleon, belong all the thick and heavy copper pieces struck by Sicilian cities, at least, all those of rounded fabric (Head, Pl. VII., VII. A). After this the only thing observable, as regards fabric, is that it becomes thinner and less bold. There is, however, one striking peculiarity noticeable in the coins of Hieron II. and his contemporaries and successor. I refer to the dots in which the letters of his inscriptions terminate, and which frequently mark horses' hoofs and other terminal points in the types. These dots were evidently drilled by the point of a revolving instrument in the die, and are one of the surest indications of date which can be found.

To return to the more important subject of art. I have tried to illustrate the history of Sicilian art by sets of representations of the same or similar objects at various periods. I have taken first, chariot-types, which are a sort of key and index of all others, next the bearded male head, and then the youthful. Fourthly, I have taken the human figure and traced the history of its representation, then the types of Herakles, then those of Nike. Lastly, I have represented the eagle and the thunderbolt of various periods.

I am aware of the boldness of this attempt. Criticism of manner and style is of all criticism the most difficult, and taxes the powers not of a mere student only, but of the most experienced professors. And especially the chronological arrangement of objects of art presents peculiar difficulties. For in almost all cases the progress of the development of an art is not constant or steady. According to external events, or the whims of fashion, it now progresses, is now stationary, and now recedes. Moreover, it is next to impossible to distinguish differences of treatment which arise from the influences of local schools from

those which arise from lapse of time. Archaism may shelter itself amid the mountains, or in a remote island, after it has been driven from the great centres of industry. Once more, if it is very hard to distinguish true archaic from undeveloped art, it is still harder to separate from archaic work the archaistic work which is consciously and of set purpose imitated from it. No canon will ever be discovered for the definite separation of ancient originals from ancient copies, or of works which represent the full growth of art at the time when they were produced from works which are carefully contrived to embody a phase of art belonging properly to a previous time.

But during the fifth century B.C. the phases of art succeeded each other with a rapidity of which, perhaps, no other instance can be found in history. And here we can find no backward slips. The changes introduced may not all have been for the better, but they certainly were all in one direction, that of freedom and expression. Even those who have not an eye capable of tracing the gradual triumph in art of new ideas can, at least, follow those mere material triumphs over stone and metal, the greater mastery of mechanical execution which pre-eminently marks the latter end of this century as compared with the beginning. Even the tenth part of the progress made during the fifth century, as much, therefore, as ten years might exhibit, is quite appreciable. These remarks apply to most of the monuments of antiquity, vases, of course, excepted. But in the case of coins in particular we are very little dependent on any argument from probabilities however strong. I have been able to show that we have in Sicily many coins which can be fixed with a reasonable degree of certainty to short periods. By the

aid of these fixed points we shall very easily see how to fill up the gaps between them. The only thing which must be assumed, and that can scarcely be denied, is that art *did* progress rapidly in Sicily during the fifth century. *How* it progressed our dated coins will show with accuracy.

The oldest of Sicilian representations of the quadriga is to be found in the metope of Selinus of which there is a cast in the British Museum. In it we see four horses emerging directly from the wall with the charioteer behind them, just as they do on several very early vases. Even the earliest chariot which appears on coins of Syracuse shows a considerable advance upon this treatment (Head I. 1). Mr. Newton has suggested that it may be copied from an anathema, such as was set up in honour of each victor at the Olympian games.[9] It is driven by a bearded charioteer, the horses are very thick-set, and represented in that conventional way which lasted even at Athens almost to the time of Phidias. The whole of the nearest horse is represented, and the head and neck of the third are seen distinctly, but the second and fourth are indicated only by doubling the lines of the front of the face and chest of the first and third, and adding a spare leg or two below. This description would apply almost exactly to a very old quadriga of Leontini represented (Pl. III. 1); the antiquity of which is proved by the way in which Nike spreads her wings, one on each side. But here the horses are galloping instead of trotting, and only eight horses' legs are clearly visible. On the Demaretion (Pl. I. 5, Head, Pl. I. 10) we find some change and growing freedom. Nike spreads her wings behind her, and the heads of three horses are clearly visible; indeed, the

[9] Glaukias made the anathema representing the victorious quadriga of Gelon. Paus, vi. 9, 2.

chariot on these most remarkable coins is treated in almost the same method, although, of course, with infinitely less skill, as those which appear in the frieze of the Parthenon. After this we should naturally expect that stiff archaism would gradually, during the next half-century, give way to a constantly increasing freedom. This, however, is not the case. The Demaretion, however we look on it, was a very exceptional coin, and its execution probably entrusted to better artists than were usually employed in the mints. However this be, it is certain that during the period 478—440 the rendering of the chariot did not at all progress, a fixed conventional type was adopted and adhered to. This conventional type is represented (Head, Pl. II. 6, 11). In it, two heads and four legs of horses are visible, whence it has often been taken for a biga. But closer observation reveals the fact that the front lines of the horses' heads and legs are distinctly double, and there can be no doubt that a quadriga is meant. That this is so will especially appear certain if we observe the representations of the apene or biga of mules offered by the coins of Messana. In the oldest of these (Pl. III. 3), a coin whose roughness of outline and height of relief indicate a great antiquity, Nike has not yet made her appearance. The charioteer, here also an elderly man, sits, or rather squats, on a light seat which rises from the axle-trees. The two mules are here represented clearly by one figure, of which the front outlines are all doubled. In coins of Messana of a half-century later (Pl. III. 4) the form of the nearer mule is more rounded and more strongly drawn, but here the second mule is still represented in the same primitive and conventional manner. Nike is treated in the same archaistic manner, and walks rather than flies as she crowns the mules.

At some undetermined period, which must however lie between 440 and 415, a spirit of innovation again makes its appearance at all cities. In the type of quadriga, now introduced, still only two horses are represented, the other two appearing in mere outline. But the pair visible are more strongly contrasted one with another in attitude, and their execution is far more free. An instance will be found at Selinus (Pl. III. 5). It is most instructive to compare with this representation that of the same two deities driving a biga of stags in the frieze of the Phigalian temple in the British Museum. The date of the two works is evidently much the same. To the same period must, I think, be given the coin of Syracuse, attributed by Mr. Head (Pl. II. 12) to the period of Hiero. By this time Nike has begun really to float in the air, and the charioteer is sometimes female instead of male. With these quadrigas must be ranked an apene of Messana (Pl. III. 6).

A few years later, at about the period of the Athenian invasion of Sicily, a fresh change took place. It is by no means impossible that the Athenian armies imparted to the island a little of the glowing love of art which pre-eminently distinguished their city at that period. Indeed I have a curious piece of evidence that the impulse in this case came from Athens. In the Elgin room at the British Museum is a bas-relief, brought from the Parthenon, representing a quadriga over which Nike floats, which might easily be taken for the prototype of the reverses of the Syracusan coins of this period. The well-known chariot-group of the reverse of the Syracusan decadrachms of the Dionysian period is a reproduction of it on a small scale. Suddenly the four horses of the quadriga appear, at first galloping in step, but soon breaking out into strong

and diversified action (Head, Pl. III. 12—14). We can almost trace the change from year to year. At Selinus (Pl. I. 8), destroyed by the Carthaginians in 409, the horses still move steadily and soberly. At Himera (Pl. I. 9), which fell four years later, they are more restive, and their heads are turned in various directions, but their feet still keep time. At Catana (Pl. I. 10), which struck coins for but two years longer, they are still more in disorder, the rein of one is flying loose, and there appears close to them a meta which they seem scarce likely to round in safety. At Syracuse, which alone survived, we find broken chariot wheels, overthrown metas, and other picturesque accessories. At Messana we find a parallel development of the apene. Pl. III. 7 is contemporary with the earlier quadriga of this post-Athenian period. Pl. I. 11, on the other hand, is of decidedly later date, having the name of an artist (if it could only be read) on the line of exergue. Here the attitude of the mules is more picturesque, and their heads more highly developed, while the attitude of the charioteer and its adaptation to the space at the die-sinker's disposal bespeak a period when the theory of art was more completely understood, and the style of execution softer. This last production reminds us of the remarkable decadrachm of Agrigentum, of which the softness and almost effeminacy of work almost seem to indicate a period after the taking of Agrigentum by the Carthaginians. It may have been struck by Dionysius at the time of his greatest power, when almost all the great cities of Sicily, Agrigentum included, were in his power.

Chariots of a far later date meet us at Syracuse. These, indeed, are mostly more or less lifeless reproductions of those of Dionysian time. On the coins

of Philistis, however (Head, Pl. XI. 6—9), we find some attempt at originality. The heads of the horses here are parallel, and their hind-legs sometimes tiresomely so, the number of the latter being now carefully counted. The horses have become of huge size, and the driver, although the goddess Nike herself, has fallen into comparative insignificance, while in the earlier representations the charioteer is always made of a somewhat large size in proportion, according to the well-known habit of Greek artists to give greater prominence to the human than the animal element. The details of the harness are more carefully displayed, and the extremities of the horses' legs marked, just as are the extremities of the letters in the inscriptions of this period, by small round holes drilled in the die.

The next subject for consideration is the progressive treatment of the human form. This subject does not belong so exclusively to the coinage of Sicily as does the quadriga, but, on the other hand, we are better aware of the treatment accorded to the human frame at various periods than the treatment of quadrigas, and so have more solid analogies to go upon.

The male head, bearded, occurs often in representations of Zeus, Dionysus, and the much-venerated river Gelas. A series of these will be found in Pl. III. 8—18. Probably the most ancient of all is the human head on bull's shoulders of Pl. III. 8, and I. 1. In this the eye—that surest test of antiquity—is represented full, not in profile, the pupil not being in any way distinguished. The hair of the scalp is indicated by dots, that of the beard by nearly straight parallel lines, and the mouth is represented by the peculiar downward cut which passes away from Greek art early in the fifth century. In the

Dionysus of Pl. III. 9 a somewhat later origin is indicated by the eyes, in which a pupil appears, not indeed yet in profile, but evidently made with a striving to represent the truth, and by the hair which is represented on the scalp by lines instead of dots, and under the chin by wavy lines instead of straight. The mouth, too, though still hard cut, is more nearly horizontal. The krobylus in which the hair of Dionysus is confined at the back, and the tress falling along his cheek, indicate with certainty the first quarter of the fifth century. We see in the next two examples, from coins of Abacænum, how these peculiarities in the treatment of hair soon faded away. (Pl. III. 10, 11.)

The period of transition is represented on Pl. III. by Nos. 12 and 13, both striking types of the man-headed bull. We know from the reverses attached to these, as well as from the probabilities of the case, that the former of these preceded the other in order of time by several years, probably dating from a time not later than the middle of the fifth century. A good deal of archaism still hangs about the mouth and hair, archaism illustrated by the dotted line which crosses the body at its section. No. 13 exchanges majesty for mere material force, a very suggestive fact as indicating how rapidly the river of Gela was passing from the position of a deity to that of a merely powerful and useful agent. It is strikingly like the type which long afterwards came into use for statues of Herakles. In No. 14 Dionysus reappears on a coin dating about 420—410. A stiffly curled ringlet still marks the place of the curl in front of the ear, and the eye has scarcely yet learned to look straight forward. But the fine cast of the features at once reminds us that by this time the influence of Phidias

and his contemporaries, which had so marked an effect on the contemporary coins of Elis, has reached Sicily.

Very interesting in the next period, that of Timoleon, are the small heads of Zeus and Gelas, Nos. 15 and 16. Here we are instantly struck by the accession of life and expression to the features. The hair, also, is treated with far greater technical skill, being artistically disposed in rich curls in the case of Zeus, streaming and lank in the watery divinity. Here we recognise the influence of Scopas and Praxiteles or even of Lysippus, who bestowed much attention on the hair, which artists of the greatest period had often treated, as Mr. Newton [10] has well remarked, almost as an excrescence. A few years later we find a type of Zeus of somewhat more severe expression, and remarkable as quite shorn of the flowing locks we usually associate with him (No. 17). Lastly, we reach, in the third century (No. 18), the ordinary conventional head of the lower Greeks and the Romans, in which the barbarous coarseness of execution is a fitting accompaniment to the dull hardness of the type.

The treatment of the youthful or beardless male head (for with a deity beardlessness means always youth) may be illustrated by a set of Apolline heads, which cover all periods save the earliest. We begin with the coin of Leontini, contemporary with the Demaretion of Syracuse, and therefore dating from 480—478. The cast of features here (Pl. III. 19), though not the facial angle, corresponds closely with that of the head of Dionysus (No. 9). The

[10] In Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture," p. 176 and note 16. Brunn says of Lysippus, "Namentlich legte Lysippos das Haar natürlicher, wahrscheinlich nach mahlerischen Effecten an."

hair, however, is still more carefully arranged. Cut quite short over the forehead it is plaited and turned in behind, while four formal tresses fall on the cheek, and one long curl behind the ear. It is surprising to find the hair of so early an Apollo treated in so womanly a fashion; but in fact the ancients appear at the beginning of the fifth century to have always worn the hair long, and yet not to have allowed it to fall loose over the shoulders, but always to have plaited or rolled it. In fact, long loose hair would be the cause of many inconveniences. The second of my Apollos (No. 20) has clearly very long hair, which falls in a loose bag, is turned up under the string of the wreath, and falls again. The hard straight lips and full eye indicate a very early stage of art. It is very interesting to see in these first five Apollos the hair gradually become shorter, a few inches every twenty years, and the curls over the cheek gradually die away into a mere reminiscence.

No. 21 is a very curious head, from Leontini. Its large eyes, pointed chin and projecting nose, seem to indicate a local school of artists who combined affectation with an attempt to restore in a refined form the peculiarities of more ancient art. The downward cut of the mouth, and the careful archaism of the curls, indicate a decided purpose of imitating the antique. This piece may be attributed to the middle of the fifth century. No. 22 is much simpler and more pleasing in its forms, only so much archaism remains in the upward curl of the back hair, and the slight curve of the nose, as is thoroughly charming. No. 23 takes us at once to the bold outlines and simply arranged locks of the finest period of art. It has been commonly supposed that full-faced representations of divinities were very unusual in Greece, except

for a few years, about 380, when Alexander of Pheræ and others issued coins with such types. This, however, is not true. At Camarina, which was totally destroyed in 405, we have beautiful full-faced representations of Hipparis, and at Catana, which fell ten years later, Apollo often appears in this aspect. No. 24 is a specimen. Its character is such as to fix its date to the time immediately after art in Sicily had just touched, and then begun to recede, from its high-water mark. And, in fact, so rapid was the change in Sicily, that we can distinctly see growth, perfection, and decay crowded into the last quarter of the fifth century. The treatment of the full-face necessarily differs from that of the profile, especially in the matter of hair, which an artist who represents the full face can scarcely avoid the temptation of making long and spreading in ornamental masses on both sides of the face. A few years later, as is proved by the reverse, comes No. 25, the distinguishing mark of which is delicacy and extreme refinement passing into luxuriousness. The fastidiousness of the lips and the great delicacy of the nose will be especially striking if we compare this representation with the last but one. The length of the hair and its confinement at the back show a return to archaistic treatment. Lastly we have a coin (No. 26) very similar in treatment to the last, but of rougher execution, even if we remember that it is of copper instead of silver. This I suppose from the fabric to have been minted in the time of Timoleon.

Female heads are plentiful in Sicily, but I have represented none, preferring to refer to the rich collection in the plates of Mr. Head's article. In them, both the type of the features and the arrangement of the hair are scarcely different from those of youthful men. We may trace in

Mr. Head's Plates I. and II. the gradual alteration of the eye, and in Pl. I. the substitution of lines for dots in the representation of hair. In Pl. II. the bag of the back hair gives way to the corymbus, and this is in turn superseded in Pl. III. and IV. by the sphendone. Later on, as in Pl. IX., a looser and more flowing arrangement of the hair is adopted. These and many other changes will be observed by whosoever takes the pains to look carefully over the coins of Syracuse.

The treatment of the human figure is one of the most certain indications of period obtainable. The smallness of scale in our coins does something to obscure this valuable testimony, but is far from rendering it worthless. In Pl. IV. 1, we have a very archaic figure of Dionysus from Galaria, the wooden pose and evenly-balanced action of which show a very slight advance on the primitive xoana, and indicate a period not far removed from that of Canachus. Nearest to it comes the figure of the Nymph Himera, No. 3. The attitude here is very similar, only that the hands are raised higher, and the feet represented in truer perspective, instead of being, as in No. 1, turned rigidly to the left. The drapery, also, is more tastefully disposed. No. 2 of the river-god Selinus has the hard lines and strained muscle of the Æginetan sculptures. It will be observed that although, from the attitude, the weight of the body must be really resting on the right foot, the artist has not made the least attempt to express this. The heroes of the days of Marathon and Himera seem never to have lounged. Even in No. 5, which may belong to the period after the middle of the fifth century, the river-god stands very nearly bolt upright, though the lines of the figure have become far softer. This figure is draped, a very unusual thing in a

deity of water. But in No. 4, which may be dated about 420, there is an evident decrease of severity in the attitude. Himera is leaning on one leg, and a line drawn down the middle of her body would be no longer straight but present a series of curves. This reminds us of the remark of the ancient critic,[11] that Polycletus introduced the habit of throwing the weight of the body onto one foot. The Seilen behind Himera is also in a lounging attitude, which expresses with almost comical truth the pleasure of feeling a gush of warm water on the body. The Seilen of No. 3 enjoys his bath also, but it was not possible at the earlier period to put so much expression into the pose. The figure of Selinus on No. 6 is sturdy and well knit, with large head. It reminds us as much of the Greeks in the frieze of Ictinus' temple at Phigalia, now preserved in the British Museum, as of anything in ancient art.

Very few years can have elapsed between the issue of the last-named coins at Himera and Selinus and the fall of those cities. Yet we find a distinctly later style of art prevailing at both in the interval. The figures in Pl. I. (Nos. 8 and 9) exemplify this. We here see figures much taller and more slender,[12] and with outlines much softened. About contemporaneous with these last is No. 7 of Pl. IV., where we have the figure of a young hunter in a position of repose. A specimen of still later art is the Herakles of Pl. II. 1. Here the most manly of all heroes possesses a slender, almost effeminate, physique, and seems scarcely able to support himself in an upright position on

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[11] "Proprium ejus est ut uno crure insisterent signa excogitasse."—PLINY.

[12] This alteration of proportions was attributed by the ancients to Ephranor; but these coins are certainly before his date.

his rock without the sustaining left arm. After this, as might be expected, there are no human figures in Sicily worthy of our notice.

The historical conception of Herakles may be further illustrated by a series of heads of the hero, which may be reasonably assigned to about the years 415, 405, 340 and 250 (Pl. IV. 8—11). In No. 8 we see a bronzed and hardened warrior, of high muscular development and stern temper. In a few years, for the reverses of these coins are almost contemporaneous, this type gives way to an effeminate youth with rounded chin and full lips. (No. 9.) Indeed, so round is the chin and so gentle the expression that were it not for connecting links between the types, and the slight whisker visible among the lion's teeth, we might suppose this head to belong to the Lydian Omphale rather than Herakles. In No. 10 the head is perhaps still more youthful, but the thick neck and the short crisp hair do indicate athletic force. The lion's skin has fallen back, and forms a sort of hood, a curious attempt to give novelty and grace to a conventional type. In No. 11 we get something far more like the Roman Hercules, a man in middle life, with bushy beard and the physique of a prize-fighter. It would be hard to image better the periods of Sicilian art than they are imaged in these four heads; in the early fine period, strength not without severity; in the late fine period, softness and grace with marvellous delicacy of execution; in the early period of decline, a more picturesque style with a striving after novel effect; in the late period of decline, the empire of materialism.

The representations of Nike illustrate the earlier century of Sicilian art as well as those of Herakles the later centuries. When Nike first appears, soon after 495

(No. 12), her drapery and attitude are alike wooden, her wings are spread on either side of her, as are the wings of birds on early vases, (the artist not seeing how else to represent *two* wings) and her arms are in balanced attitude like those of a runner on the Panathenaic vases. These peculiarities are softened down in No. 13. No. 14, early as it is, shows far more artistic feeling. Both wings appear behind, and the lower part of the figure, where the drapery covers without obliterating the limbs, is more skilfully treated. The artist is, however, scarce able to represent the chest of Nike in perspective. This is accomplished in No. 15. The robustness of the form here, and the size of the head, remind us of the figure of Selinus (No. 6). A development also appears in the conception of Nike, who now bears a galley in her hand. By this time she has learned to regard battles rather than mere games as her province. Lastly, in No. 16, she appears seated; a graceful figure, and most delicately executed. It is possible to trace these changes in the conception of Nike through the chariot types where she so constantly occurs, changing from a doll in Pl. I. 1, to a lightly-hovering deity in I. 9—11, or even entering the chariot as in I. 8, and herself grasping the reins.

As an instance of the treatment of animal life I have taken the eagle of Agrigentum. It is acknowledged that in Greek art the highest types of animal forms were developed earlier than those of human beings, the latter being more subject to hieratic and superstitious influences. As early as the time of Calamis, the horse and other animals had reached their highest point in representation. We cannot, however, say that Sicilian numismatics indicate the same course of development in that island. There the horse reaches its perfection at about the same period as the

human form, *i. e.*, after 420. Indeed there are few better or more spirited representations of horses than the Pegasus on the coins of Corinthian type, assigned to the period of Timoleon (Head, Pl. VI). The eagle of Pl. IV. 17 is of a very early type, rudely drawn, and, what is far rarer on early coins, wanting in spirit and meaning. The next, No. 18, shows improvement in the beak, wing, and claws, but not much in the general appearance, which is very heavy. With No. 19 we reach the early fine period, and find a vigorous group of bold contrast, a touch of archaic stiffness remaining in the case of the hare, the head of which is turned backwards. No. 20 belongs to the period just before the destruction of Agrigentum in 405. The relief here is remarkably low for the epoch, and seems specially adapted to the subject. The feathers of the bird are represented no longer by mere dots and lines, but by a most careful and minute following of nature,[13] the claws and beak are extremely vivid. There is here but one touch of symbolism, the sea-shell beneath the hare, introduced to indicate the scene of the banquet. The next eagle (No. 21) belongs to the period of Timoleon. The attitude and details are here far more commonplace, but the fineness of the execution establishes a broad distinction between it and No. 22, which belongs to the time of Hieron II. and is a mere copy of the arms or symbol of the Ptolemies.

Finally we may take up an inanimate and indeed imaginary object, the thunderbolt. In this case of course any imitation from an original is out of the question, and the only motive for a change on the early type can be the desire of more elegance. No. 23 represents, as closely as

[13] Compare the wings of Nike on the fine Syracusan decadrachms.

possible, the lightning, only a pair of wings being added by way of symbolism. In No. 24, which also was made in the time of Hieron I., there appear two small scrolls in the middle of the fulmen. If these had originally any meaning, I know not, but it is curious to see how rapidly they are developed and magnified by copyists who come after, till in No. 26 they are conspicuous additions. If this latter thunderbolt be stripped of these appendages and the wings, and if the middle part of it be shortened, we shall obtain something almost exactly like the conventional thunderbolt No. 27 (*cf.* II. 6), which from the time of Timoleon onwards, is usual over Sicily, and in the rest of the world. When wings are again added, at a later period, (Pl. II. 7, 13) we find two pairs which seem to work one against the other, and to render real flying impossible, the original idea being thus completely lost in the desire of symmetry.

III.

It remains to treat of Sicilian epigraphy. For the study of epigraphy coins present many disadvantages and a few weighty advantages. The smallness, and often the carelessness of numismatic inscriptions, and the necessity imposed upon the die-sinker of fitting his letters into any corner where there is room for them, make it very difficult to tell what particular forms were intended. Very frequently too, when the inscription was to start with not very distinct, time and wear have done their best to render it less so. These are great disadvantages; but coins possess for this purpose one great advantage in the fact that it is possible in most cases to fix their date with some accuracy. Except in the case of Athens, the date of

a lapidary inscription is generally hard to fix, and must be determined from a consideration of its epigraphy, so that we cannot argue back again from the date of the inscription to the forms of letters without involving ourselves in a vicious circle. But if I have been at all successful in the previous part of this paper, I have proved that the dates of coins in general, and those of Sicily in especial, may be pretty accurately determined from other considerations, such as historical reference and character of types. In this case, therefore, we may fairly argue on from the known date of our monuments to the usage of particular forms of letters. And having ascertained the dates of appearance and disappearance of those forms, we may secure means of dating all inscriptions, whether on stone or in metal.

The one important thing in a quest of this kind is to secure sufficient grounds for a foundation. This can only be accomplished by a most laborious study of masses of Sicilian coins. I have gone over with care all those of the British Museum. I have studied the sulphur casts of Mionnet and the plates which have appeared of Salinas' valuable work, which progresses, alas, too slowly. I have also made cautious use of Boeckh's Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum. And I have made especial use of the inscription discovered five years ago at Selinus, and published by Holm[14] and others. The latter would have been of inestimable value to my purpose had its date been determined by any external evidence. This, however, is not the case. Dr. Holm is obliged to try and fix its date by the character of its epigraphy, and assigns it to the first half of the fifth century. I entirely agree with

[14] An excellent fac-simile, Rheinisches Mus. vol. xxvii. 353.

him, but unfortunately as it is only on epigraphic evidence that we can give it a date, it is not legitimate to argue back again to the forms of letters used at a certain period. I have, therefore, been unable to use this inscription at all in my general table. The form of the Δ in the inscription is the same as is used at Zankle, which had disappeared in the time of Hieron I. The Θ and Φ which appear here are likewise early forms, but unfortunately these letters do not occur on early coins of Sicily, so that we can here make no comparison. The Ξ on the other hand is that which only came into use at Naxos after 420. All the other letters are such as were used through Sicily during the first half of the fifth century. On the whole it is safest to consider this form of Ξ as exceptional, and the date of the inscription as about 480—450.

It will be seen that the evidence I have been able to procure is safer for affirmative than negative purposes. It is easy to make sure that a form occurs at a particular period, but it is very difficult to be quite sure that a form does *not* appear; new evidence might easily be forthcoming to prove in a new instance the proverbial riskiness of negative assertions. At best, therefore, the results here reached must be considered as only approximately true. I publish them in the hope that they may notwithstanding be useful, and give future inquirers some hints for the assignment of date to inscriptions in Sicily and Greece.

I append (Pl. V.) a general table, embodying, as far as possible, the conclusions arrived at; but it will be readily understood that I have had to choose among the many forms of letters only those which seemed most marked and typical; transitional forms I have mostly omitted, as well as those which seemed to occur quite exceptionally. I have also inserted no retrograde forms of letters, and no

inverted forms; in fact, I have tried to overlook all peculiarities which seemed to arise merely from carelessness.

α. Direction of Writing.

In the first quarter of the fifth century the direction of the writing would appear to have depended upon nothing but individual taste. Writing from left to right is just about equally common with writing from right to left, boustrophedon writing somewhat less common than either. No rule seems to have been observed. At the same city, and exactly the same period, all three kinds of writing occur. In the period 476—412, boustrophedon writing and that from right to left both occur rather less frequently. In the period 412—345, boustrophedon writing scarcely ever occurs, writing from right to left many times as often but still seldom. In the next period 345—275, we find the boustrophedon writing again decidedly more frequent; even in so small a matter the conservative tendency of the age of Timoleon is observable. Writing from right to left is at this time about equally common with the last-named kind. In the period 275—200 the writing is almost invariably from left to right.

β. Forms of Letters.

A

This form at all periods. Of other forms A, or as it is occasionally written A is the most ancient, very seldom occurring after 478. A is also a very early form, but met with as late as the middle of the fifth century at Syracuse and Segesta. Λ is used at Agrigentum and Catana for

a short period, about 480—460. A is not used until the middle of the third century, an apparent exception occurring on a coin of Agyrium of the fourth century, as well as in certain monograms.

B

So at all times. ᗷ occurs on early coins of Segesta up to the middle of the fifth century, and recurs at the end of the third century at some cities, as Hybla.

Γ

C is used at Agrigentum, &c., from the earliest time, and until about 440 at Gela, Segesta, and Agrigentum. ↾ is found on very early coins of Segesta. < occurs at Gela and Segesta as the transitional form between C and Γ, and so is most usual about 460—430. Γ first makes its appearance at Gela about 430, at Longone about 430, at Segesta apparently as early as 470. After 420 it is used exclusively.

Δ

The form ᐅ was in use at Zankle up to 490, and apparently somewhat later at Selinus, Rhein. Mus. XXVII. 353. In Boeckh C. I., i. 16 the form ᐃ is said to be found on the helmet dedicated by Hieron. This statement, which Franz and others copy, is quite erroneous. The letter is thus made, Δ. Boeckh also engraves the form D. C. I., iii. 5458.

E

This form is almost universal until about 220, and used at Syracuse in 215. ᗴ is found on the very early coins of Entella and Leontini, ξ on those of Zancle as early as

the beginning of the fifth century. Є begins to appear about 220.

H (aspirate)

This form is found on the early coins of Enna and Himera. At Himera and Selinus it is used as late as the middle of the fifth century, and at Segesta apparently as late as 420. Ⱶ appears on the above-mentioned helmet of Hieron, dedicated in 474, as well as on a coin of Himera, in the middle of the fifth century. This latter occurrence seems to be an archaism. A peculiar variety of the form last mentioned is engraved by Boeckh. (C. I., iii. 5458.)

H (vowel)

This letter seems from the coins of Rhegium, which was for practical purposes a Sicilian city, to have been adopted several years before Ω, apparently about 425.

Θ

This letter does not seem to occur in Sicilian coins of early date. Θ is the usual form in the fourth and until the middle of the third century, appearing sometimes, as at Thermae, as late as 220. But Θ is more usual after about 240. ⊙ is found in the Hieronian period. (Boeckh, C. I., iii. 5368.) The form ⊕ occurs repeatedly in the Selinuntine inscription.

Λ

This form is common at all periods, but V supersedes it at Leontini from about 480, the Demaretion period offering the first example, to 420. V is also used at Zankle before 490. L occurs in an isolated way at Leontini in the middle of the fifth century.

M

Until the middle of the third century this letter is almost always written M, as it is at some cities, such as Panormus until 200. This fact is almost overlooked by Franz. But M is more usual in the latter half of the third century, and sometimes appears much earlier, as at Messana.

N

This letter has many forms. Of these N is usual until the middle of the fourth century, and occasionally used for some years longer, as at Tauromenium. N occurs at all periods and is usual after 350. N is occasionally found early in the fifth century at Agrigentum, &c., and down to nearly 400 at Camarina and Naxos. But it can scarcely be distinguished from N. N is found contemporaneously with N at Zancle, Leontini, &c. N is more distinctive and rarer. It occurs at Leontini and Catana about the middle of the fifth century, and at Catana and Messana about 410. ⌐ is found, exceptionally, at Agrigentum, about 410. N is a marked form used at Naxos before 480, and occasionally at Naxos, &c., in the middle of the fifth century.

Ξ

The form X occurs at Naxos until about 420. Ξ or Ξ is found there and at Camarina about 410; and the latter form apparently as early as about 470 at Selinus. Rhein. Mus. XXVII. 353.

O

O and o are both used at all periods; but O is far more usual in the early part of the fifth century, and o or ● is

almost universal in the times of Agathocles and Hieron II. ⊙ is found rarely on very early coins of Leontini.

Γ

This form is almost universal from the middle of the fifth until late in the third century, when Π takes its place. Γ seems to occur at Agrigentum about 470: Γ occurs also on the Hieronian helmet and in the Selinuntine inscription.

Ϙ

This letter is used at Syracuse until about 478, when K takes its place. Also in Boeckh, C. I., iii. 5435.

Ρ

R and ꓡ are both usual until 420, R being the earlier form, and both are found until 410 at Agrigentum, &c. Ρ almost universally used from 412 onwards, and sometimes as early as the middle of the fifth century, at Syracuse, Rhegium, and Selinus. This form is engraved by Salinas, as occurring on very ancient coins of Camarina; but this is probably an error of his artist, the tail of the Ρ not being always clear on small coins. Ꝑ is now and then used in the middle of the fifth century, as well as in the middle of the third century at Syracuse and Tauromenium.

Σ

ϟ is almost invariable until 485, as at Syracuse and Selinus, except at Messana, where ς ϛ are found contemporaneously until about 476, and at Segesta, where we find Ϛ on the earliest coins. Ɛ is also, however, found on the earliest coins of Agrigentum, as in Boeckh, C. I., iii. 5458. After these Ϛ is the normal form until about

300, when it rather suddenly gives way to Σ, which is in turn superseded by C a little before 200.

Y

V is usual until about 420, and occurs until 406 at Syracuse, Eryx, &c. Y first appears about 430 and soon after is usual.

Φ

The form Φ at Selinus apparently about 470. Rhein. Mus. XXVII. 353.

X

+ is found on a coin of Agrigentum early in the fifth century. The letters EXA alone appearing it is impossible to say whether this form is meant for Ξ or X. But + for X certainly occurs in the Selinuntine inscription.

Ψ

The form Ψ occurs at Selinus about 460—420.

Ω

This letter comes in about 410 as Ω, and lasts until the middle of the third century, when ⌒ takes its place. This again is superseded at the end of the third century by ⌒, a form which seems earlier than the kindred ◊, ϕ, &c., which belong to Imperial times.

PERCY GARDNER.

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3.	490—480	Messana	3.	"	Entella
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5.	480—478	Leontini	5.	"	Alaesa
6.	476—461	Catana	6.	332—326	Syracuse
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10, 11. Abacaenum
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16. Gela
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II.

JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

§ VI. COINS STRUCK IN PALESTINE COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

In the year A.D. 71 Titus returned to Rome, taking with him the spoils from the Temple at Jerusalem—the candlestick with seven branches, the golden table, the trumpets and the ark, all of which were employed to adorn his triumph, which is fully described by Josephus.[1] An arch was also erected, on which these trophies were sculptured.[2] The successful termination of the Jewish war was the great glory of the Flavian race, though neither Vespasian or Titus would take the name of *Judaïcus*, out of contempt for the Jewish nation.[3] Coins

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[1] "Bell. Jud." vii. 3—7.

[2] For illustrations of the candlestick, the table of shewbread, etc., see Lewin's "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. pp. 319, 320.

[3] Τὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ οὐδ' ἕτερος ἔσχε. Dion. Cass. lxvi. 8. It does not appear that Pompey, after the capture of Jerusalem, took any title connected with his victory; but that of *Hierosolymarius* seems to have been bestowed upon him *contemptuously* by Cicero ("Si vero, quæ de me pacta sunt, ea non servantur; in cœlo sum: ut sciat *hic noster Hierosolymarius* traductor ad plebem, quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam retulerit: quarum exspecta divinam παλινῳδίαν." "Epist. ad Atticum,"

commemorative of the captured country were not only issued by Vespasian and his sons in Palestine, but also at Rome, those struck at Rome bearing the legends **IVDAEA CAPTA** or **DEVICTA, VICTORIA NAVALIS** and **IVDAEA NAVALIS**, the latter alluding to the naval victory on the Lake of Gennesareth.[4] It will be unnecessary here to describe these various coins, as complete catalogues may be found elsewhere,[5] and I therefore pass on to the description of the series struck in Palestine.

VESPASIAN.

1. *Obv.*—**IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS AG.** (*sic*). Head of Vespasian, radiated.

   Rev.—**VICT. AVG.** Victory walking to the left, holding a crown and a palm. Æ. (Cohen, "Suppl." No. 48 from the "Cabinet de France,"

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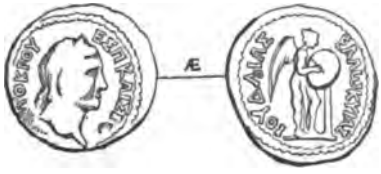
lib. ii. Ep. ix.) The late Dean Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," vol. ii., p. 47, *note*, ed. 1866), however, states that Cicero in so calling Pompey seems to have attached "great importance to the occupation of Jerusalem even among the splendid services of Pompey." He adds, "the passage is in the oration Pro Flacco." This, I think, is a mistake, though Pompey is here mentioned as having left untouched the immense riches in the Temple ("At Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit." Cic. "Orat. pro Flacco," xxviii. *Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς, ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἥψατο δὶ εὐσέβειαν·* Jos., "Antiq.," xiv. 4, 4). Crassus shortly after pillaged the whole of the gold and silver in the Temple (Jos., "Antiq.," xiv. 7, 1).

[4] Jos., "Bell. Jud." iii. 10, 9; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 192.

[5] Cohen, "Descript. Hist. de la Monnaie Rom.;" Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 183 *seq.* Mr. Evans has pointed out to me that I omitted to publish the coins of Vespasian with the legend **VICTORIA AVGVSTI**, and type, Victory standing writing **OB CIV. SER.** on a buckler attached to a palm, at the foot of which is Judæa seated weeping. There are several varieties of the same coin (Cohen, "Les Médailles Impériales," s. Vespasian, Nos. 489—495).

who adds, "This coin appears to have been struck in Syria." De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 79, No. 1, considers it struck in Palestine.)



2. *Obv.*—[AV]ΤΟΚΡ. ΟΥΕΣΠ. ΚΑΙ ΣΕ[Β.] Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

Rev.—ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Victory standing before a palm-tree on which is fastened a shield, whereon she is inscribing a legend. Æ. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 114, No. 39, from his collection—bought at Jerusalem; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 183; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 79, No. 2.)

I have already stated in an earlier section (§ III., *Note* 177) that Cavedoni thought that the coins with the legend ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ were struck at Nicopolis in Judæa. De Saulcy, however, in his new work, suggests Cæsarea as the place of their issue.

TITUS.

1. *Obv.*—IMP. T. CAESAR VESPASIANVS. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—IVDAEA DEVICTA. Victory standing to the right, the left foot placed on a helmet (De Saulcy says "a globe"), and writing IMP. T. CAES. in three lines on a round shield which is attached to a palm. *Æ.* (Cohen, "Med. Imp.," No. 45, from the "Cabinet de France," who thinks that it was struck at Cæsarea of Cappadocia; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 190, No. 1; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 79, No. 1, does not agree with this

attribution, the style and fabric persuading him that it was issued in Palestine, perhaps at Cæsarea. By error he has described it as Æ instead of *N*.)

2. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Trophy, at the foot of which, to the left, a captive with hands bound behind the back (Judæa), to the right a shield. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 79, No. 2; Pl. V. No. 1, who gives various transpositions of the letters of the legend on other examples. Cf. de Saulcy, "Num. Jud.," Pl. X., Nos. 3 and 4; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 189, No. 1.)

3. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Palm-tree; on the left side Victory standing, placing left foot on helmet, and writing on an oval shield. Æ. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 190, No. 3; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 79, No. 3.)

4. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Victory writing on a shield attached to a palm-tree. Æ. (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 189, No. 2; De Saulcy, "Num. Jud." Pl. X., No. 5; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 80, No. 4.)

5. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. [ΤΙΤΟΣ] ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev.—ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Victory standing to the right, the left foot placed on a helmet, and writing ΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙΣ. in three lines on a round shield attached to a palm. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 80, No. 5; Pl. V., No. 2. The word ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. is engraved ΑΥΤΩΚΡ. Pellerin, Recueil, vol. iii., pl. 134, fig. 1, gives a coin of this type with ΝΕΙΚΗ ΚΑΙϹ. on the shield. Madden, "Hist. of Jew.

Coinage," p. 190, *note*. De Saulcy observes that M. Six of Amsterdam says he has in his cabinet a piece with the legend **ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙC.** on the shield, but suspects that the first word ought to be **ΝΕΙΚΗ.** It will be observed that in De Saulcy's plate the word is **ΝΙΚΗ.** Which is correct ?)

6. *Obv.*—**ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ. ΣΕΒ** . . . . . .
Head of Titus to right, laureated.

Rev.—. . . **Λ . ΕΠΙ Μ. ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔΗΝ** (?) . . . . .
Palm-tree, at the foot of which to left a crouching captive, and to right a shield. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 80, from the British Museum.)

With reference to this piece, De Saulcy says, "Cette monnaie est, à coup sûr, une des plus étranges et des plus curieuses de toute la série impériale palestinienne. Pas de doute possible sur l'origine de la pièce ; elle a été frappée en Palestine, après la prise de Jérusalem, mais par l'ordre de qui? Quel est le personnage qui porte le nom de Marcus Salugdinus? J'avoue que je ne le devine pas."

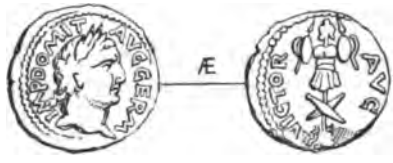
In the year 1864,[6] I exhibited this very piece at a meeting of the Numismatic Society, on which I made the following remarks:—"On the obverse is the legend **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒ.**, with the laureate head of Titus to the right. The legend on the reverse appears to be **ΕΠΙ Μ. ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔΗΝΟ** . . . ., the device being a palm-tree with a cuirass beneath it on the left, and a shield on the right. The name M. Salvidenus is given by Mionnet (*Supplément*, V. p. 2) as that of a Proconsul occurring on a coin of Domitian struck in Bithynia. The complete legend should apparently be

[6] "Proceedings of the Numismatic Society," vol. iv., 1864, p. 12.

ΕΠΙ Μ. ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔΗΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ., but no mention is made of such a person in history, though a *Salvidienus* Orfitus was banished by Domitian for conspiracy (Suet. *Dom.* 10), and a Longinus *Proclus* was also living during the same emperor's reign (Dion. Cass. LXVIII. 16). The coin belonged to Mr. Evans, who has since presented it to the British Museum."

It will be noticed that whereas I read the name **ΣΑΛΟΥΙΔΗΝΟ**, *Salvidenus*, De Saulcy has now read it **ΣΑΛΟΥΓΔΗΝ . . .**, *Salugdinus*. With a view, therefore, of getting the legend of the coin verified, I wrote to Mr. Grueber, Assistant in the Medal Room, British Museum, asking him to examine the coin and to give me his opinion. This gentleman wrote in reply as follows:—"The **Γ** is rather indistinct, and could be well an **Ι** with the top a little elongated. Gardner[7] is of opinion that your reading in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE is the correct one."

DOMITIAN.



1. *Obv.*—**IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GERM.** Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

   Rev.—**VICTOR AVG.** A trophy. Æ. (Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv., p. 181; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 80, No. 1. De Saulcy says that the "Cabinet de France" possesses a similar coin with the reverse legend **VICTORIA AVG.**)

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[7] Percy Gardner, M.A., Assistant in the Medal Room, British Museum.

This piece also exists at the British Museum. De Saulcy writes, "et je pense que c'est le même spécimen qui aura été cédé au Musée." I find, however, from a note I made at the time that Mr. Reichardt published this coin, that a separate example existed in the Museum.[8]

A somewhat similar reverse type may be found on a coin of Marcus Aurelius struck at Ælia Capitolina,[9] and a similar trophy forms part of the type of a coin of Domitian which I shall next describe.

2. *Obv.*—. . **MITIANVS AVG. GERMANICVS.** Head of Domitian to the left, laureated.

Rev.—No legend. Pallas helmeted, standing to the left, the right hand placed on a trophy, in the left carrying a round buckler and a javelin. Æ. (Described from De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 81, No. 3. Another specimen in De Saulcy's collection, found at Nazareth, has the obverse legend . . . **VS CAES. AVG. GERM** . . Mr. Reichardt also has an example. My description from the example in the cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan is incorrect,—"Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 197.)

3. *Obv.* . . . **CAES** . . . **GERM.** Head of Domitian laureated.

Rev.—No legend. Pallas helmeted, turning to the right and standing on a vessel, holding javelin in the right hand, and in the left a round shield; at her feet an owl. Behind the goddess a trophy similar to that described on Nos. 1 and 2; before her a long palm. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 81, No. 2, from his collection; bought at Jerusalem.)

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[8] This remark is corroborated by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, who writes, "The coin is still in my cabinet, and has never been offered to the British Museum nor to anyone else since it has been in my possession."

[9] Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 220, No. I; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 91, No. 1.

4. *Obv.*—Legend effaced, if any existed.

Rev.—No legend. Victory walking to the left, holding in the right hand a large crown, and in the left a trophy. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 81, No. 4 from his collection. Bought at Jerusalem.)

The new piece (No. 3), for the publication of which numismatists are indebted to M. de Saulcy, is extremely interesting. It will be remembered that in a former paper of mine, published in 1866,[10] I gave a full account of Domitian's veneration for the goddess Minerva, and in commenting on the fine silver medallion in the British Museum struck in A.D. 65, I accepted Dr. Alessandro Visconti's suggestion that the figure supporting the shield was a Jewish slave, and bore reference to the victory over the Jews. The owl which occurs on specimen No. 3, above described, is not on the silver medallion to which I have alluded, but it occurs, I believe, on Roman coins of Domitian.[11] It may also be found on coins of Constantine I. and Licinius I., with other attributes of Minerva, and the legend **SAPIENTIA**.[12] Cicero calls Minerva *sapientissima dea*,[13] and γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη is of frequent occurrence in Homer.[14]

There are some other coins of Domitian which, though having no connection with the conquest of Judæa, have been considered by De Saulcy to have been struck in Palestine. Their description is as follows:—

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[10] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 265 *seq.*

[11] De Saulcy gives a reference to Cohen, No. 255.

[12] F. W. Madden, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 102; 1866, vol. vi. p. 275, *note* 85.

[13] "Orat. pro Milone," iii. 8.

[14] Hom. Il. xviii. 227 etc.; sometimes γλαυκῶπις alone, Il. viii., 420.

1. *Obv.*—**IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P.M. TR. P. XI.** Head of Domitian, radiated.

Rev.—**IMP. XXI. COS. XVI. CENS. P.P.P.** Palm-tree with fruit. Æ. 2. (Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 354, who adds, "Frappée en Samarie?" De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 81, No. 5. Bought in Palestine.)

2. *Obv.*—**IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. XII.** Head of Domitian, laureated.

Rev.—**IMP. XXII. COS ... S. P.P.P.** Victory walking to the left, holding crown and trophy. Æ. 2. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 81, No. 6 from his collection. Bought at Jerusalem. He observes that Cohen, "Méd. Imp.," No. 355, reads **IMP. XXIII COS. XVI CENS. P.P.P.** and that two examples in the "Cabinet de France" read clearly **IMP. XXIII** instead of **IMP. XXII.**[15])

Besides the coins previously described, there are a few others of great interest, for the publication of which numismatists are indebted to M. de Saulcy.

After the total destruction of Jerusalem, Titus resolved to leave there as a guard the *tenth* legion, and did not send them away beyond the Euphrates where they had been before.[16] This was evidently considered a great honour, as we read in the same passage of Josephus that Titus expelled the *twelfth* legion from Syria for having given way to the Jews under Cestius.

This tenth legion was called *Fretensis*.

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[15] See the note in Cohen on this subject.

[16] Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 1, 2, 3. Tacitus ("Hist." v. 1) says that Titus succeeded to the command in Judæa of the fifth, *tenth*, and fifteenth legions, to which he added the third, twelfth, and twenty-second.

In 1869 M. de Saulcy published[17] a countermarked coin, which evidently seems to have been put in circulation by the tenth legion. Its description is as follows:—

Obv.—Surface very much rubbed. Traces of a head to right, probably laureated, and the letters **AES** hardly visible.

Rev.—Of the original type nothing remains but the letters **BAC**. In the middle of the field a large square countermark, in which a pig above a dolphin; above the pig the letters **L. X. F.** (*Legio decima Fretensis*); below, another countermark in which a galley. Æ. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 83, No. 1; Pl. V. No. 3.)

I may remark that in the engraving given by De Saulcy the letters **BAC** are not shown, nor can I perceive any traces of the dolphin under the pig.

The letters **BAC** are supposed by De Saulcy to be part of the word **CЄBACTHNΩN**, whilst he considers that the dolphin alludes to the surname *Fretensis* of the legion which adopted this type.

The sow was a legionary emblem. Its origin may be traced to the sow seen by Æneas with its thirty young, concerning which Virgil speaks,[18] and it is not likely, as some have supposed, that it was adopted as an insult to the Jews.[19]

A very similar piece was purchased by M. de Saulcy on his last visit to Jerusalem (November, 1869), which may be thus described:—

Obv.—Head of Augustus to right, laureated. On the cheek a square countermark containing the letters

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[17] Rev. Arch., 1869, pp. 251—261.
[18] Æneid, lib. viii. 43.
[19] Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," pp. 211, 212.

ꟻ X which give the three elements of the legend L. X. F.

Rev.—Nothing remaining but the letter C of the legend S.C., the usual one found on the copper coins of Antioch. (De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 84, No. 2; Pl. V. No. 4.)

M. Clermont Ganneau has in his collection a piece of Domitian with the same countermark on the neck. The reverse has ΤΗΝΩΝ, the remains of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ, and the type is Astarte. In the field ΘΡ.

I have mentioned above that the *fifteenth legion* was with Titus in Syria. When he quitted the country he sent it back to Pannonia.[20] M. de Saulcy quotes[21] a curious piece of Trajan, struck at Aradus, with the date BOT (372), having on the neck of Trajan the countermark L. XV (*Legio quinta decima*). He adds, "Il me parait difficile d'admettre qu'une pièce d'Aradus soit venue se faire contre-marquer en Pannonie; j'aime mieux croire que le centre de recrutement, ou mieux le dépôt de la XV.e légion, resta en Syrie, ou peut-être la légion avait été créée."

The same piece is also described by Mionnet.[22]

§ VII. IMPERIAL COLONIAL COINS STRUCK AT JERUSALEM.—ARAB COINS.

After the second revolt the Emperor Hadrian, determining that the Jews should have no more idea of establishing a kingdom with Jerusalem as a capital,

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[20] Jos., "Bell. Jud." vii. 5, 3.
[21] "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 84.
[22] Vol. v. p. 464, No. 846.

carried out his intention of building a new city on the ruins, giving it the name of "Ælia Capitolina," combining with his own family name of *Ælius* that of Jupiter *Capitolinus*, and erecting a temple to this deity's honour on the site formerly occupied by the sacred Temple of the Jews.[23] He is also said to have built a temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with that of the sepulchre of our Lord, and a representation of the same is supposed to be given on certain coins of Antoninus Pius,[24] which have the type of a turreted female figure within a tetrastyle temple. I have already pointed out that it is a question if the existing coins really refer to this temple, and that the tradition is allowed to be more than doubtful.[25]

The date of the actual foundation of the colony is a matter of controversy. Mr. Merivale[26] assigns it to A.D. 133. Mr. Aldis Wright[27] states that it was not till A.D. 136 that Hadrian, on celebrating his *Vicennalia*, bestowed the name upon the city, which date is also assigned to the circumstance by M. de Saulcy in his "Numismatique Judaïque," who writes:[28] — "En l'an 136 Hadrien

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[23] Dion Cass. lxix., 12. Diocletian or his successor, Maximinus Daza, erected over the image of Jupiter set up by Hadrian the temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, now known as the Mosque of Omar (T. Lewin, "Archæologia," vols. xli. and xliv.; "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 130, *note*).

[24] Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 217; De Saulcy, "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 89, Nos. 13, 14.

[25] Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Merivale, "Hist. of the Romans under the Empire," vol. vii. p. 399, *note;* Gregorovius, "Hadr.," p. 56; Aldis Wright, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Jerusalem.

[26] "Hist. of the Romans under the Empire," new. ed. 1868, vol. viii. p. 117, *note* 2.

[27] Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Jerusalem.

[28] P. 158.

célébra ses *Vicennalia*,[29] c'est à dire l'entrée dans sa vingt et unième année de règne, et ce fut alors que la nouvelle ville, rebâtie sur les ruines de Jérusalem fut érigée en colonie et reçut le nom de *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, etc."

M. de Saulcy has now (1874) stated that the date of the foundation of Ælia Capitolina is A.D. 137. He writes as follows[30]:—"Nous lisons dans la chronique d'Eusèbe (*Chronicorum liber posterior*, inséré au *Thesaurus Temporum*, édit. Scaliger, Amsterdam, 1658, pp. 167 et 168), XX. (année 20 d'Hadrien), CXXXVII. (an 137 de J. C.): Ælia ab Ælio Hadriano condita, etc.; et dans celle de Cassiodore (*M. A. Cassiodori Chronicon.* Venise, 1729, t. i. p. 361 et 362): Severus et Sylvanus. His Coss. Ælia civitas, id est Hierusalem, ab Ælio Hadriano condita est, etc.

"La fondation de la *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, a donc sa date bien déterminée; elle n'eut lieu qu'après la compression définitive de la nationalité Judaïque, c'est-à-dire qu'après que l'insurrection de Bar-Kaoubab eut été étouffée dans le sang (137 de J. C.)."

This statement, however cannot be accepted as conclusive, for, in the first place, the year XX of Hadrian is *not* CXXXVII. but CXXXVI., and, in the second place, the consuls "Severus et Sylvanus" mentioned by Cassiodorus were consuls in the year A.D. 139, the second year of the reign of Antoninus Pius,[31] and are apparently the same as those mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale*,[32]

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[29] Doubtless Hadrian did celebrate his *vicennalia*, but I cannot find any authority for the statement.

[30] Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 83. Cf. p. 85.

[31] Clinton, F. R. vol. ii. p. 186.

[32] The compiler of the "Chronicon Paschale" lived in the

under the year A.D. 140 as "Severus IV. et Silanus," though these names do not appear in the correct list of the names of the consuls given by Clinton,[33] from Gruter and Norisius, unless one can suppose them to be intended for "Siloga et Severus," who were consuls in A.D. 141.

I at first thought that M. de Saulcy had by mistake printed CXXXVII. for CXXXVI., and consequently wrote to Mr. B. V. Head on the subject. This gentleman has kindly verified the passage for me, thereby showing that M. de Saulcy is correct in his quotation.

I at the same time asked Mr. Head to look at another edition of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, in which may be found the following words[34]:—"2152 (of Abraham), 20 (of Hadrian): Ælia ab Ælio Hadriano condita," etc.

This date is correct, as the year 2152 of Abraham answers to A.D. 136, the *twentieth* year of Hadrian.[35]

It would therefore appear that there is some mistake in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius as edited by Scaliger.

With respect to the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus,[36] whose authority is quoted by De Saulcy, but whose statements, as I have above shown, cannot be relied on, it may be as

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reign of Heraclius and ended his "Chronicon" in A.D. 630. The foundation of Ælia Capitolina is erroneously placed in this "Chronicon" in A.D. 119, but in this year Hadrian was in Italy.

[33] F. R. vol. ii. p. 179.

[34] Translated by Jerome, ed. Pontac. Bordeaux, 1604.

[35] Clinton, F. R. vol. ii. p. 219.

[36] Cassiodorus was son of the secretary to Valentinian III. He was *comes privatarum* and *comes sacrarum largitionum* under Odoacer (A.D. 493). Clinton (F. R. vol. i. p. 709) is inclined to think that it was the father and not the son who was *comes* etc., under Odoacer; but Prof. Ramsay (Smith, "Dict. of Biog." *s. v.* Cassiodorus) says, "the question seems set at rest by the 4th epistle of the *Variarum*, where the father and son are carefully distinguished from each other."

well to give the late Professor Ramsay's opinion of the value of this work. This scholar writes[37]:—"His *Chronicon* is a dull, pompous, clumsy summary of Universal History, extending from the creation of the world down to A.D. 519, derived chiefly from Eusebius, Hieronymus, Prosper,[38] and other authorities still accessible. It was drawn up in obedience to the orders of Theodoric, and by no means deserves the respect with which it was regarded in the Middle Ages, since it is carelessly compiled and full of mistakes."

So far then we have sufficient data for objecting to the statement of De Saulcy that the date of the foundation of Ælia Capitolina "a sa date bien déterminée," from the authorities quoted.

The actual commencement of a city on the ruins of Jerusalem appears on the statement of Dion Cassius to have been undertaken in A.D. 131, in which year Hadrian sent a colony to Jerusalem, and came to Syria from Egypt.[39] This was the immediate cause of the revolt.

Eusebius, on the other hand, places the foundation after

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[37] Smith, "Dict. of Biog," *s. v.* Cassiodorus.

[38] This is Prosper Aquitanus, who flourished about A.D. 431. He wrote two works, (1) "Chronicon Consulare," extending from A.D. 379, the date at which the chronicle of Jerome ends, down to A.D. 455; (2) "Chronicon Imperiale," embracing the same ground of dates, but much inferior in authority. This latter work has by some been supposed to be the work of Prosper Tiro, who flourished in the sixth century, but the existence of the second Prosper has never been clearly demonstrated. (Smith, "Dict. of Biog.," *s. v.* Prosper.)

[39] Dion Cass. lxix. 12. Eckhel (Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi. pp. 481, 496, 497) gives the date A.D. 130. Jerome (Euseb. "Chron." ed. Scaliger, 1658) under "Hadrian ann. XX" says "Judæorumque nonnulli à Tito Ælio filio Vespasiani arbitrantur." This is of course incorrect.

the close of the Jewish war in A.D. 135;[40] which, according to Clinton,[41] Tillemont[42] *properly* explains to mean that the new city Ælia was destroyed by Bar-cochab, and restored by Hadrian after the war.

It has been often doubted if Bar-cochab or the insurgents were ever in possession of the city of Jerusalem, or rather of the new colony founded on its ruins. Scaliger[43] and Fabricius[44] do not believe Eusebius and Jerome, who state that Jerusalem was destroyed by Hadrian,[45] but the historian Appian writes positively that the city was destroyed by Vespasian, and again *in his own time* (ἐπ' ἐμοῦ),[46] which seems to leave no doubt that the insurgents were driven out from Jerusalem, and that the new city (as far as erected) was destroyed.

The insurgents, on being driven out from Jerusalem,

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[40] "Anno 2151 [from. Oct. A.D. 135]. Hadriani 19° Judaicum bellum denique debellatum est ita ut e Judæis post clades tot vix quisquam sospes evaserit. Ex hoc tempore accessu quoque ad Hierosolyma interdictum est eis, primum Dei voluntate deinde Romanorum jussionibus." (Euseb. "Chron." lib. ii. ed. Mai, p. 384. Milan, 1818.) *Οὕτω δὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους—ἡ μετέπειτα συστᾶσα Ῥωμαϊκὴ πόλις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείψασα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμὴν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται* (Euseb. "Hist. Eccles." iv. 6).

[41] F. R. vol. i. p. 118.

[42] Tom. ii. p. 289.

[43] Animadv. in Chron. Euseb. p. 216.

[44] "Ad Dionis Hist." lxix. 12—14.

[45] Euseb., "Hist. Eccles." iv. 6.—"Usque ad extremam subversionem, quæ sub Hadriano accidit—quando Cochebus dux Judæorum oppressus est, et *Jerusalem usque ad solum diruta est*" (Hieron. "in Dan." ix. 27). "Post quinquaginta annos sub Hadriano *civitas in æterno igne consumpta est*" (Hieron. "in Ezek." xxiv. 14).

[46] *Τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς . . . . . καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ.* "Syr." 50.

took refuge in the fortress of Bether.[47] This city surrendered in August, A.D. 135.[48]

Cavedoni has stated[49] that the war lasted four years, from A.D. 132 to August, A.D. 136, though in another passage[50] he says three years and a half, which accords with the statement of Jerome,[51] and which computation

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[47] I therefore withdraw my statement in "Hist. of Jew. Coinage" p. 201, *note*) that "it seems excessively doubtful whether Bar-cochab was ever in possession of Jerusalem." Most of the remainder of the note may stand.

[48] The situation of this city is not certainly known. Eusebius ("Hist Eccles." iv. 6) says it was a very strong fortress not very far from Jerusalem. Its site has been identified by Williams ("Holy City," pp. 209—213) and it is now called *Beitêr*.

[49] "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 61. I have erroneously printed in my "Jewish Coinage" (p. 212, *note* 5) "four and a-half years."

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

[51] "In hoc mense—Capta urbs Bether, ad quam multa millia confugerant Judæorum, aratum templum, in ignominiam gentis oppressæ a T. Annio Rufo" (Hieron. "in Zach." viii. 16, 17). Jerome gives the name of the capturer of Bether as *T. Annius Rufus*. I have elsewhere (Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 202, *note* 2) pointed out that Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 63, *note* 41; Cf. "Principali Questioni," etc., in vol. v. Series II. of the "Opuscoli Religiosi," etc., Modena, p. 20 of *tirage à part*) agrees with Borghesi ("Iscr. di Burbul." p. 65), in reading it *Tineius Rufus*, especially as Jerome himself in his "Chronicle" (an. XVI. Hadr.) calls this Roman general *Tinius Rufus*. Eusebius, however (quoted by Clinton, F. R. vol. i. p. 118, an. 132) writes *Ticinius Rufus*. Cavedoni adds that Vallarsi gives *Turannius Rufus*, whilst Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," vol. iii. p. 118) writes *T. Annius* or *Tynnius*, called by the Rabbins *Tyrannus* or *Turnus Rufus*, the Wicked. It is curious that the Roman commander to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus bore the name of *Terentius Rufus*, and thus the two are perpetually confounded (Milman *l. c.*). It will be observed from the words "aratum templum" that Titus had ordered the ruins of the city to be ploughed over by Rufus, and the first coins struck in the colony in A.D. 136 represent Colon driving two oxen. The

also agrees with the statement of Dion Cassius above referred to, thus carrying back the beginning of the war to the spring of A.D. 132.[52]

From these facts it seems most probable (1) that a colony was sent to Jerusalem in A.D. 131 by order of Hadrian, and the city commenced; (2) that during the revolt the city was destroyed; and (3) that it was not rebuilt and completed till A.D. 136, in which year the colonial coins were first struck.

I do not propose to describe in full the colonial coins struck at Ælia Capitolina, as it may be presumed that the catalogue of this interesting series now given to the world by M. de Saulcy in his new work[53] is as complete as possible. I think it, however, well to mention the following pieces, which were unknown to me on the publication of my work in 1864.[54]

1. HADRIAN AND SABINA.[55] (De Saulcy, p. 86.)

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fact receives illustration from the words of the prophet Micah (iii. 12), "Sion, quasi ager *arabitur*," etc. Cf. Jerem. xxvi. 18.

[52] Clinton, F.R., vol. i. p. 122.

[53] "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 85 *seq.* Paris, 1874.

[54] I do not include the varieties or perhaps unpublished coins of the different emperors which have not been seen by De Saulcy, and which are marked by him as such with an asterisk, some of which I published from various sources.

[55] In my "Hist. of Jew. Coinage" (p. 12, *note* 5) I published and engraved some coins of Hadrian struck at Rome, stating that they commemorated the defeat of the second revolt of the Jews, and that they were struck between A.D. 136 and A.D. 138. This, however, as Cavedoni ("Principali Questioni," etc., p. 20 *tirage à part*) pointed out, is an error, as Hadrian visited Judæa either in A.D. 130 (Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi. pp. 481, 497) or in A.D. 131 (Clinton, F. R., vol. i., p. 118). Moreover the type of Judæa offering the accustomed sacrifice to Cæsar (Cf. Jos., "Bell. Jud." ii. 17, 2) shows that the coins were issued before, though only shortly before, the revolt broke out.

In M. de Saulcy's collection there are two specimens of this coin, both found at Jerusalem. He states that Sabina received the title of *Augusta* in A.D. 126, and that she died two years before Hadrian in A.D. 136; that therefore these pieces were struck in Jerusalem between this period, and that as Ælia Capitolina was not founded till A.D. 137, they could not have been struck at Jerusalem before the city became a Roman colony. He adds that Bar-cochab having fled to Bether in A.D. 135, and left the Romans masters of [the ruins of] Jerusalem, could not prevent them striking there *Imperial* coins. The pieces, therefore, he concludes, are not *colonial.*

These statements are open to comment.

It may be assumed that De Saulcy obtained the date A.D. 126 for Sabina receiving the title of *Augusta* from Jerome, but Eusebius apparently places it one year earlier, at the same time that Hadrian receives the title of *Pater Patriæ.*[56] Eckhel has, however, clearly proved[57] that Hadrian was *not* called *Pater Patriæ* till A.D. 128, and consequently Clinton is of opinion[58] that Eusebius and Jerome, who translated his work, are both respectively three and two years too early.

De Saulcy then states that Sabina died two years before Hadrian.

This, I presume, is on the authority of Spartian, who speaks as if Sabina died at such a time.[59] If, however, it

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[56] "Anno 2141 [A.D. 125]. Hadriani 9° Imperator Pater Patriæ appellatus est, *ejusque uxor Augusta*" (Euseb., "Chron.," quoted by Clinton, F. R., vol. i. p. 114). I may mention that Eckhel (Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi. p. 515) gives a similar quotation from Eusebius as "ann. XII. Hadr. U.C. 881 = A.D. 128," which date would be correct.

[57] Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi. p. 515.

[58] F. R., vol. i. p. 114.

[59] "Quando-quidem etiam Sabina uxor non sine fabulâ veneni

be true that coins of Sabina, struck at Amisus in Pontus, bearing the dates ΡΞS (166=A.D. 134), ΡΞZ (167=A.D. 135), ΡΞΗ (168=A.D 136), and ΡΞΘ (169=A.D. 137)[60] and a coin of Alexandria with the date ΚΑ (21= A.D. 136)[61] are in existence, they prove in any case that she was living in the autumn of A.D. 136, or A.D. 137.[62]

The third point is that De Saulcy gives the foundation of Ælia Capitolina to A.D. 137, and therefore considers these coins to be *Imperial.*

I have above attempted to show that it was founded at latest in A.D. 136, and if this be allowed, these coins of Sabina might have been issued at the new colony, and be therefore *colonial.*

2. MARCUS AURELIUS AND FAUSTINA II. (De Saulcy, p. 92.)
3. FAUSTINA II. AND LUCIUS VERUS. (De Saulcy, p. 92.)
4. MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS. (De Saulcy, p. 94.)
5. COMMODUS. (De Saulcy, p. 94.)

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dati ab Hadriano defuncta est" ("In Hadr." 23). Victor ("In Epit.") however, states that she was driven to kill herself (*ad mortem voluntariam compulsa est*). Hadrian died on the 10th of July, A.D. 138 (apud ipsas Baias periit *die sexto Iduum Juliarum* —Spart. "in Hadr." 25), and consequently two years earlier would be previous to July, A.D. 136.

[60] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 349; vol. vi. pp. 520, 522. The era of Amisus is usually supposed to commence in A.U.C. 721 (B.C. 33), but a coin of Ælius Verus with the date ΡΞΘ has been thought, according to Eckhel (ii. p. 349) to show that the era was not commenced till A.U.C. 722 (B.C. 32).

[61] Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 520. The twenty-first year of Hadrian was really A.D. 137, but if the Alexandrian dates were not counted in a particular manner (Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 42) there would be no means of explaining many of the dates. Eckhel amongst others especially alludes to a coin of Hadrian with the date ΚΒ (22). Clinton, (F. R., vol. i. p. 126) corroborates this by saying, "In those accounts which extend Hadrian's reign to twenty-two years or upwards there is either a corruption in the text or an error in the writer."

[62] Merivale (Hist. of the Romans, vol. viii. p. 250) assigns her death to about A. D. 135.

With reference to Nos. 4 and 5, I have to make a few remarks. No. 4 is published by De Saulcy from two specimens in his own collection, and from one in the British Museum. If it was there in 1864 it escaped my notice. No. 5 is in De Saulcy's collection, and is unique.

It will be remembered that I published[63] a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, from the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, on which occurs the legend **COL. CAP. COM. P. F.**, *i.e.* "Colonia Capitolina *Commodiana* Pia Felix," adding that "there are at present no known coins of Commodus struck at Ælia Capitolina, ... and no authenticated coins of Severus."

To this attribution the reviewer of my book in the *Morning Post*[64] took exception. He writes, "The coin of Julia Domna is placed in this list on very insufficient grounds. There is nothing in her history to connect her with Judæa. This interpretation of the inscription is sustained by the gratuitous assumption that the colony of Ælia Capitolina had adopted the name of Commodiana to gratify the Emperor Commodus. If the change had been made during his life, of which there is no evidence, it is not likely that it would have remained after his death to perpetuate his disgraceful memory. The coins of his father and of his colleague Lucius Verus, show no traces of such flattery."

The publication, however, of the two coins of Commodus, one of which has on the reverse the legend (as interpreted by De Saulcy), "Colonia Ælia Capitolina Aurelia *Commodiana* Pia Felix," in any case prove that the colony was named *Commodiana* by Commodus.

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[63] "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 223.
[64] September 28th, 1864.

"A quelle circonstance," says De Saulcy, "faut-il rapporter le choix du surnom Commodiana adopté par la colonie Ælia Capitolina? Nous ne saurions le dire."

The reason for Commodus so calling it is perhaps not actually known, yet when we remember that this madman called himself *Commodus Romanus Hercules*,[65] his fleet *Commodiana Herculea*,[66] his house *Commodiana*,[67] his gardens *Commodiani*,[68] the "sæculum" *Commodianum*,[69] the Roman people themselves *Commodianus*,[70] and Rome itself *Colonia Commodiana*,[71] we may safely assume that he either ordered Ælia Capitolina to be so named, or that those in authority there adopted the title to gratify his caprices. The title *Commodiana* is continued on most of the coins (with the exception of those of Verus) from the time of Commodus to the end of the series (Valerian, A.D. 253—260).

I may add that De Saulcy not only republishes Mr. Reichardt's coin of Julia Domna, but states that he acquired during his last stay at Jerusalem (Nov. 1869) *two* examples of this rare coin.[72] He moreover publishes two coins of "Caracalla and Domna," both hitherto unknown.[73]

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[65] Æl. Lamprid. "In Com." 8.

[66] *Op. cit.*, 17.

[67] *Op. cit.*, 12.

[68] Æl. Spart. "In Pescen. Niger," 6.

[69] Æl. Lamprid. "In Com.," 14. [70] *Op. cit.*, 15.

[71] *Op. cit.*, 8. The title occurs on large and second brass coins—**COL. L. AN. COM.** (Colonia Lucia Antoniniana *Commodiana*). See Cohen ("Les Médailles Impériales, vol. iii. p. 127, Nos. 469, 470).

[72] "Num. de la Terre-Sainte," p. 97, Pl. V. No. 8.

[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 98. De Saulcy here is inclined to doubt the attribution of the coin of Geta published by Mr. Reichardt ("Num. Chron." N.S., 1862, vol. ii., Pl. III. No. 6) and reproduced by me ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 224), not being able

Authenticated coins of Septimius Severus still remain to be found.

6. PESCENNIUS NIGER. (De Saulcy, p. 95.)
7. CARACALLA AND JULIA DOMNA. (De Saulcy, p. 98. See my remarks under No. 5.)
8. AQUILIA SEVERA, wife of Elagabalus. (De Saulcy, p. 103.)
9. ALEXANDER SEVERUS. (De Saulcy, p. 103.)
10. MAMÆA AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS. (De Saulcy, p. 103.)
11. URANIUS ANTONINUS. (De Saulcy, p. 104; Pl. V., No. 9.)

All the coins (and there are not many) of this tyrant in the East under Alexander Severus are of great rarity.

This piece has for legend on the reverse **COL.—A. C. C. P. F.** (Colonia Ælia Capitolina Commodiana Pia Felix), and for type a quadriga facing, on which is placed the conical stone of Emesa, the god "Elagabal." De Saulcy adds, "Le type du revers est à peu près identique, on le voit, avec le bel aureus du Cabinet de France." From this I presume that since I published the rare gold coin of Uranius Antoninus from the Wigan collection, now in the British Museum,[74] the French Cabinet has acquired an example. But has De Saulcy confounded it with the other gold coin of this Tyrant (formerly in the De Salis collection, now in the British Museum), or with the

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to recognise any likeness in the portrait to Geta. It is true, as I at the time pointed out, that the reverse type may be found on a coin of Antoninus Pius. Mr. Reichardt, however, published it again in 1869 ("Num. Zeitschrift.," p. 84, Pl. III. No. 6), and has since stated that "the legend on the obverse is quite complete, clear, and entirely legible; in fact, for a coin of Ælia Capitolina *à fleur de coin*, leaving no doubt that the coin belongs to Geta. The engraving of this piece in the 'Zeitschrift' is a faithful representation of the original."

[74] Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v., p. 48.

specimen which was once in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, but was stolen in 1831 ?[75]

The brass coin published by Mr. Reichardt,[76] and attributed by him to Caracalla and to Cæsarea in Samaria, is considered by De Saulcy to be a coin of Uranius Antoninus, struck at Ælia Capitolina, having the same reverse legend, and apparently the same type as that above.

The existence of coins of Uranius Antoninus will explain the great rarity of the coins of Alexander Severus struck in this colony.

12. Gordian III. Pius. (De Saulcy, p. 105.)
13. Tranquillina. (De Saulcy, p. 105. Probable attribution.)
14. Hostilian. (De Saulcy, p. 108; Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv., p. 182.)
15. Valerian. (De Saulcy, p. 108.)

The Emperor Valerian was captured by the Persian King Sapor in A.D. 260, and died in captivity.[77]

No later coins of Roman Emperors struck at Ælia Capitolina have been discovered.

ARAB COINS.

Some small copper coins struck in Jerusalem by the conquering Arabs were first published by De Saulcy in

[75] F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., *l. c.*; "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," 1861, p. 107.

[76] Num. Chron., N.S., 1862, vol. ii., p. 109.

[77] That the Emperor Valerian suffered the grossest indignities at the hands of the Persian monarch has been a generally received opinion (Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," vol. i. p. 406), but Mr. Thomas has shown ("Sassanian Inscriptions," p. 64, Trübner, 1868) that none of the bas-reliefs give any countenance to the loose accusation of Western writers regarding the severity

1841.[78] One of these pieces has upon the obverse in Cufic characters "Mohammed [is the] apostle of God," with the figure of a caliph standing girded with a sword, and on the reverse "Palestine" and "Ælia," the type being a half-moon over the letter ϖ, which is very similar to that on the co-temporary Byzantine coins. Another example has the same legend on the obverse, but on the reverse, instead of "Palestine—Ælia," it has "Palestine" expressed twice. There seems good reason for attributing them to Abd-el-Melik (circ. A.D. 695), or perhaps to Muáwiyeh.[79]

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of treatment or wanton humiliation of the Roman emperor on the part of Sapor. On one occasion only is Valerian represented in chains, whilst the few Persian authors who notice the capture relate that Sapor took advantage of the engineering skill of his captive and employed him in the construction of the celebrated irrigation dam and in the general embellishment of the new city of Shuster. The inscription on the sculptures has been ably treated by Mr. Thomas ("Sass. Insc.," *l. c.*). The subject is represented on many of the rock sculptures in various parts of Persia (Ker Porter, Pl. XXI.; Flandin, Pl. 48, 53; Thomas, *op. cit.*; Vaux, "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 408). The bas-relief at Sháhpúr, which has been supposed to refer to Sapor's triumph over Valerian, is considered by Mr. Thomas to relate to the submission of the Syrian king Sitarún, or possibly Odenathus himself ("Sass. Inscr.," p. 62; Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. p. 58). A woodcut showing the curious head-dress of Sapor has been given by Mr. Thomas in both papers.

[78] "Lettres à M. Reinaud sur quelques Points de la Numismatique Arabe," lett. iv.

[79] De Saulcy, *op. cit.*; "Num. Jud.," p. 188; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 230; cf. "Traité des Mon. Mussulmanes," translated by M. Silvestre de Sacy from the Arabic of El Makrizy, Paris, 1797, pp. 15, 18; "Lettres de Baron Marchant," new ed., Paris, 1851, pp. 14, 15, *note* by M. A. de Longpérier; Gibbon, "Rom. Emp.," ed. Smith, vol. vi. p. 377, *note* a; Madden, "Num. Chron," N.S., 1872, vol. xii. p. 5. Mr. Thomas informs me that M. Stickel has published (Leipzig, 1870, p. 59) some remarks on the coins of Ælia—Filastin, quoting Marsden, cccvi.; but I am unable to consult this book,

M. de Vogüé has also published[80] two similar pieces. On the obverse of the first is the legend in Cufic letters, "Mohammed [is the] apostle of God," and on the reverse a five-branched candelabrum. Two specimens of this coin were obtained in Syria. On the second of these coins there are only traces of a legend and a seven-branched candelabrum, and on the obverse four trees planted parallel to each other. This coin also came from Syria.

With respect to the last of the coins here alluded to, I have already, in the first section of these series of papers, pointed out that M. de Saulcy has, from a piece since discovered bearing the legends תתיה (for מתתיה, *Mattathiah*), and ΣΑΝ (for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ), restored this piece to Antigonus, suggesting that what has been supposed to be four trees may be only the four feet of the table of shew-bread.

The name *Ælia* occurs as late as Adamnanus[81] (A.D. 697), and is found in Edrîsi and Mejr ed-Din about 1495.[82]

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

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and Mr. Head states that there is no copy of it in the British Museum.

[80] "Rev. Num," 1860, p. 291, Pl. XIII., Nos. 7, 8; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 230.

[81] Adamnanus was elected abbot of Iona in A.D. 679, and died in A.D. 703 or 704. He wrote a work entitled "De Situ Terræ Sanctæ," based, according to Bede, on information received from Arculf, a French bishop, who on his return from the Holy Land was wrecked on the west coast of Britain, and was entertained for a time at Iona ("Encyc. Brit.," 9th ed, *s. v.* Adamnan). For "The Travels of Bishop Arculf in the Holy Land" see "Early Travels in Palestine," ed. Thomas Wright. Bohn, 1847.

[82] Aldis Wright, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Jerusalem.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. III., Heft 2, Berlin, 1875, contains the following articles :—

1. H. Heydemann. "Key and Spindle." In this article the writer shows, chiefly from the evidence afforded by vases, that the object represented on certain small silver coins of Argos is, without doubt, the key of the Temple of Hera, as it has already been designated by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, and not a spindle as others have supposed.

2. J. Friedlaender. "Poimes the Founder of Poimanenon in Mysia." Dr. Friedlaender engraves a coin bearing the head of this mythical personage, which formed part of the collection of the late General Fox.

3. J. Friedlaender. "Coins struck in commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople." These medallions, of which five only are known, bear on the obv. the head of Constantine, with jewelled diadem to the right, and on the rev. the inscription **D. N. CONSTANTINVS MAX. TRIVMF. AVG.**, the Tyche of the City enthroned, turreted, and holding cornucopiæ, at her feet the prow of a ship, and in the exergue **M** [oneta] **CONS** [tantinopolitana] **B. Δ. S. Z. I.** It is remarkable that every one of the five specimens has a different letter.

4. A. von Sallet. "The 'Equis Romanus,' on gold medallions of Constantine the Great."

5. A. von Sallet. "Contributions to Greek Numismatics" :— Thraco-Macedonian coins with the inscriptions **TYNTENON**, **ΙΑΙΕΛΕΩΝ**, **Θ**, and **EMINAKO**; a tetrobol of Chalcis, in Eubœa, with **ΨΑΛ**[**ΧΑΛ**]; a tetradrachm of Attic weight and Samian type, lately found near Messina, here attributed to Samos, but which on account of its weight should perhaps rather be ascribed to Rhegium; coins of Cæsarea-Tralles, with the head of P. Veidius Pollio; false coins of Darius, Mithradates and Pharnaces, kings of Pontus.

6. E. Merzbacher. "On the Jewish Shekels." In this article the Maccabæan origin of these coins is asserted as against De Saulcy's new attribution of them to the time of Ezra. Dr. Merzbacher's arguments in favour of the old attribution do not seem to be very convincing.

7. L. Meyer. "Inedited Greek Coins":—Imbros, Thasos, Assus, Gargara, Baratea, Syedra, Sala, Hadrianopolis Lycaoniæ (?), Nicomedes II. and III. of Bithynia, Cistophori of Apamea.

8. A. von Gutschmid. "Saulakes, King of Pontus."

9. H. Dannenburg. "Coins of the Bishops of Brandenburg."

10. J. Friedlaender. "Coin Finds, Mediæval."

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik.* Bd. III., Heft 3, Berlin, 1876, contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. "On the Coins of Macedonia Romana." This series of coins is here divided into the following classes: 1st, the coins of the Macedonian regions I., II., and IV., issued during the twenty years' interval between the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168, where Perseus, the last Greek King of Macedon, was defeated, and the final subjection of Macedonia to the Romans in B.C. 148, when the country was constituted a Roman province; 2nd, the bronze coins of the Quæstors G. Publicius and L. Fulcinius; 3rd, the tetradachms of Bruttius Sura, who, according to Plutarch (Sulla, c. XI.), was Legate of Sentius Saturninus, Proconsul in Macedonia, B.C. 87. His title, as furnished by the coins, LEG[atus] PRO Q[uæstore], signifies, according to Friedlaender, that his year of office as Quæstor had expired, but that he still continued to act as such.

The coins with AESILLAS Q[uæstor] and those with LEG[atus], as well as the rare coins with CAE PR[ætor], belong to the same epoch. Last of all come the gold coins of Brutus with the name of King Coson, as well as certain copper coins of Brutus, with a reverse type similar to the tetradrachms of Æsillas, but with the letter Q only.

Dr. Friedlaender makes no mention of the tetradrachms with MAKEΔONΩN only; we presume, however, that he would place them at the end of the Æsillas series. In our own opinion, both these and those with LEG[atus] seem rather to attach themselves to the coins of the four Macedonian regions, and to precede those with the names of Roman magistrates. Dr. Friedlaender suggests Amphipolis as the place of mintage of certain specimens of the Æsillas series with A upon the reverse; as, however, both A and Θ occur upon the same coin in the British Museum, if the latter, as is generally thought, stands for Thessalonica, the former can hardly be taken for Amphipolis.

2. E. Merzbacher. "On Ancient Hebrew Coins." This is a subject which appears well nigh inexhaustible, and as this

article is only the first of a series, we postpone our notice for the present.

3. P. Lambros. "Inedited Greek coins":—Chalcis in Eubœa; Ægiale and Arcesine; Ziaëlas, King of Bithynia. The didrachms of Chalcis, here for the first time published, are most important additions to the numismatic history of this city, to which hitherto no coins were attributed except those of a late period. The recent restoration to Chalcis of the archaic coins with the wheel type given by Beulé to Athens, taken together with the somewhat more recent specimens here published, provide this city with a whole series of coins from the earliest times onwards. The only wonder is that Numismatists should for so long a time have overlooked this great centre of ancient commerce, which must necessarily have had a coinage of its own, and one second in importance in the earliest period to that of no city of ancient Greece, with the exception perhaps of Ægina. The other coins published by M. Lambros are all of interest, especially that of Ziaëlas, a king of Bithynia, of whom no coins were previously known.

4. A. D. Mordtmann. "On hitherto unknown varieties of Arsacid Coins."

5. M. Bahrfeldt. "On 'Victoriati' with the Legend ROMA in Incuse Characters."

6. J. P. Six. "The Coins of Abydos." In this paper M. Six restores to Parium and Ancore the coins with the Gorgoneion and Anchor respectively, which have been up to the present attributed to Abydos, those with the Eagle being the only ones which he leaves to that city.

7. A. von Sallet. "Contributions to Greek Numismatics": —Artists' signatures on Greek coins; Syracuse; Chalcidian League. On one of these coins Dr. von Sallet reads ΤΕΤ; to this engraver's name may be added ΚΡΑ on a similar coin in the British Museum. Tetradrachms of Thrace, with Thasian types, the rare coin with ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ, and the unique piece with ΚΟΤΥΟC ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗ[Ρ] are here attributed conjecturally to the time of a Thracian revolt, circ. B.C. 16 (Velleius II. 98). There appear to us to be but slight grounds for supposing these coins to be of so late a period. The C for Σ is occasionally met with as early as B.C. 200, and the coins of Thasos, of which these pieces are copies, probably date from the middle of the second century, or even earlier.

The pretended Locri Opuntii Epicnemidii. Dr. von Sallet shows that Sestini's reading ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ on a coin of Locri Opuntii is erroneous, the correct legend being ΟΠΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ. A drachm

of Arsakes VII. (Phrahates II.), B.C. 140—126, with the legend ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ. Margiana is a district between Hyrcania and Bactriana; the occurrence of the name of this district upon a Parthian coin is considered by Dr. von Sallet to commemorate some conquest of Margiana (cf. IVDAEA on Roman coins), and not to be the place of mintage. The writer concludes his paper with some remarks on the coins of the kings of Characene.

8. A von Sallet. "Bracteates of Brandenburg":—Jacza o Köpenick—Albert the Bear—Otto I.

The part concludes with miscellanea and notices of recent numismatic literature.

The *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Year IV., 2nd Semester, 1872, Vienna, 1875, contains the following articles:—

1. E. von Bergmann. "The Origin of Coinage in Egypt."
2. O. Blau. "Aramaic Inscriptions on Coins of Athenian Type."
3. Count Prokesch-Osten. "The Autonomous Thracian Coins in his Collection." This is a bare catalogue without any notes or remarks, which is much to be regretted, as many of the coins are of considerable interest and rarity. Among these we may mention, as especially worthy of notice, the tetradrachm of Thrace, with the inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ, struck in our opinion after the liberation of Greece from the Macedonian rule in the second century B.C. A double stater of Abdera, with the legend ΤΑΚΞ. The series of the staters of this city is rich in magistrates' names, many of which are new to us, such as ΓΗΣΙΠΠΟ, ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟ, ΦΑΝΑΓΟΣ among those of the Asiatic standard; ΗΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ and ΟΡΧΑΜΟ on coins of Æginetic weight, the lattor being a half-stater of the same type as that which is read, doubtless erroneously, byBrandis ΟΡΑΙΟ; and lastly ΤΗΛΕΜΑΧΟ, ΓΥΘΕΩ, &c., &c., on staters of the Persian standard, together with many others on the smaller pieces. Among the coins of Ænus, we notice several with the head of Hermes facing and of Attic weight, all those of this type known to Brandis being of the Asiatic standard. The well-known gold coin of Brutus, with the inscription ΚΟΣΩΝ is here given to the town of Cossea, instead of to Coson, King of Thrace, to whom Brutus granted permission to strike money in his own name shortly before the battle of Philippi, in B.C. 42. Under Maronea we find an electrum stater of the earliest period and of Asiatic weight (219 grs.), having on the obverse a half horse, and on the reverse three incuse depressions, of

which the central one is oblong and the others square. This coin is certainly not Thracian, and belongs in all probability to Cyme in Æolis. The silver coins of Maronea furnish several new magistrates' names. Of Selymbria there is a drachm with the inscription ΣΑΛΥ, which confirms the attribution of the coins with the type of the cock and the letters ΣΑ to that city.

Of the Thracian Chersonese is a remarkable tetradrachm of Attic weight, having on the obverse the head of Athena, and on the reverse a lion with head turned back and foreleg raised.

Among the royal coins we note the tetradrachm, with the types of Alexander the Great's coins, and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΕΡΣΙΒΑΥΛ[ΟΥ].

4. F. Kenner. "Phrygian Coins." The coins here described are in the Vienna Cabinet, and are either unpublished or remarkable as illustrating similar coins elsewhere described.

5. A. Luschin. "On a Half-Tournoise of the Town of Thann, in Alsace."

6. Hartmann-Franzenshuld. "On the Antwerp Penny, struck in 1598 by Montdragon, Governor of the Citadel of that City, for the use of the Garrison."

7. C. Ernst. "On the Levantine Thaler." Since the death of Maria Theresa nearly a century has elapsed, yet still the well-known thalers with her effigy, and the date 1780, continue to be struck in Austria for commerce with the Levant. About five millions of these pieces were struck in 1867-8 alone for the use of our army in the Abyssinian war, and again in 1873 more than a million thalers were issued for the use of this country on the Ashantee coast.

Volumes VI. and VII. of the *Vienna Zeitschrift*, for the years 1874 and 1875, are just published, and contain the following articles:—

1. O. Blau. "On Oriental Coins."

2. J. von Kolb. "The Antoniniani of the Emperor M. Æmil. Æmilianus.

These coins are here divided into two classes: first, those with the obverse legends IMP CAES AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG and IMP AEMILIANVS PIVS FEL AVG; and second, those with IMP M AEMIL AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG. The coins with the two first inscriptions are assigned to one and the same mint, although they belong to two different issues, of which that with PIVS FEL is the later. Those of the second class, which are distinguishable by their comparatively

bad style of work, are here attributed to some Provincial mint; of this class three coins only are known to the writer.

3. G. Stickel. "On the bilingual Hispano-Arabic solidus in the Jena Cabinet." The date of this coin, which has hitherto been read Year 90 of the Hegira, involving a historical anachronism, for the Arabs did not conquer Spain until A.H. 92, is here read Year 98.

4. Prof. Karabacek. "On the immediate influence of the Mongolian invasion, 1241-1242, upon the coinage of Hungary."

5. A. Luschin-Ebengreuth. "On the Vienna pennies.

6. E. von Hartmann-Franzenshuld. "On the medals of the Austrian Behem."

7. E. Rüppell. "On medals in commemoration of Physicians and Naturalists."

8. Baron von Helfert. "On the coinage of Austria during the years 1848 and 1849."

Among the Miscellanea at the end of the volume is an account of the detection of the forgery of some Servian gold coins of the fourteenth century, which are restruck upon modern Austrian ducats of 1853 and 1871. These or similar gold Servian coins were offered as genuine in London in the month of May, 1875, by Herr Egger, of Pesth.

B. V. H.

MISCELLANEA.

Recent Finds in Scotland.

Forgandenny Treasure-trove.—On Saturday, 15th May last, while a number of workmen were engaged in making excavations for the foundations of cottages at Forgandenny, on the estate of Freeland, in Perthshire, they came upon a jar, which, on being broken to pieces, brought to light a large number of ancient silver coins. The workmen divided the coins amongst them, and afterwards sold them to various parties, including the proprietor of the estate, who purchased a considerable number for £5. The procurator-fiscal at Perth succeeded in recovering a very few of the coins, which were sent to Exchequer.

The following is a list of the coins, viz.:—

English.	Edward III.	London groats	4
,,	Do.	Half-groats	5
,,	Henry IV., V. or VI.	Groats of Calais .	8

English.	Henry IV., V., or VI. Half-groats of Calais	2
,,	Do. do. Groat of London .	1
,,	Do. do. Penny of York .	1
Scottish.	David II. Half-groat of Perth	1
,,	James I. Groats do.	4
,,	James II. Groats of Edinburgh	7
,,	Do. Groat of Stirling. Rare	1
Illegible coins	. . . . .	8
	Total	37

Hawick Treasure-trove.—The coins enumerated in the list annexed, and others not recovered by the procurator-fiscal, were found on the 10th September last, by Mr. David Kennedy, druggist, Hawick, while digging a foundation for a house in the High Street of that town. The coins having got scattered amongst the workpeople and others, were at different times, and with difficulty, recovered by the procurator-fiscal, and sent to Exchequer.

As there are none of the common "Servio" 1557 placks of Mary in the hoard, and as the latest of the coins are the hardheads of 1555, we can very nearly approach the date of the deposit.

List of Coins.

French.	Francis I. Ecu. Poor and pierced . .	1
English.	Henry VIII. Base groats of York, London, and Bristol. All poor.	15
,,	Do. Half-groat of London . . .	1
,,	Edward VI. Testoons, or side-faced shillings. Mostly poor	4
Scottish.	James III. and IV. Placks. Mostly very poor. A few are well preserved, and a few have the numeral "4" after "Jacobus."	81
,,	James IV. Unicorn, with "X. C." under unicorn. Fine and very rare	1
,,	James V. Placks. Well preserved . .	35
,,	Do. One-third of side-faced groat . . .	1
,,	Mary. Lion, with "Scotorum Regina." Fine, and very rare	1
,,	Do. Half-lion, 1553. Fine	1
,,	Do. Testoon. "Dilicie," &c. Rather fine.	1
,,	Do. Hardheads. Two fine	8

Scottish.	Mary.	Edinburgh placks. Varieties, many fine	892
,,	Do.	Edinburgh half-placks. Many fine .	16
,,	Do.	Stirling placks. Well preserved .	4
,,	Do.	Penny, with bust, arched crown. Fine	1
		Total	558

Rannoch Treasure-trove.—About the beginning of December last, the coins of which the following is a list were found in Rannoch, in Perthshire, and sent to Exchequer, but I have not been able to learn the particulars of the discovery.

List of Coins.

English.	Elizabeth.	Shillings. All very poor . .	10
,,	Do.	Sixpences do. do. . . .	40
,,	James I.	Half-crown. "Quæ Deus," &c.	1
,,	Do.	Shillings do. .	8
,,	Do.	Sixpences do. 10 }	14
,,	Do.	do. "Exurgat," &c. 4 }	
,,	Charles I.	Half-crowns. All with oval shield and varied mint marks, but being much clipped the m. m. could not be seen on many	14
English.	Charles I.	Scottish half-crown. Bent die, m. m. Thistle, "Quæ Deus," &c. . . .	1
,,	Do.	English shillings. Many clipped m. m. varied	48
,,	Do.	Sixpences. Well preserved m. m. anchors, upright and horizontal Δ Ⓟ, &c.	14
Spanish dollars of Philip IV.			7
Dollars of Albert and Elizabeth, Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, 1620			8
		Total	155

Creggan Treasure-trove.—About the beginning of January a lot of Scottish coins were found at Creggan, in Argyllshire, and transmitted to Exchequer. No particulars have been given. The finding of these farthings in company with so many coins of James IV. would have been conclusive that these small coins really belonged to James IV., and not to James II. (as stated in Mr. Lindsay's original work), if Mr. Pollexfen had not long ago settled the question.

List of Coins.

James III. Groat of Edinburgh	1
James III. and IV. Placks. Several with numeral 4 .	182
James IV. Black farthings. Rev. crowns and-fleur-de-lis	36
Total	219

GEORGE SIM.

EDINBURGH, 28*th February*, 1876.

ΘΕΑ ΙΛΕΑ.

In the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, Second Series, Part II., p. 136, Prof. Babington has published a small brass coin of Pessinus. The obverse has the head of Cybele with the laurel and an inscription which Prof. Babington has read ΘΕΑ ΙΔΕΑ and interpreted Ἰδαία. But in a note he says, "It is somewhat singular, however, that a coin of Pessinus should refer to her Idæan title." This remark is just. We all know how easily the letters Δ and Λ are confounded, particularly if the coins are not well preserved. The perfect specimen in the royal cabinet of coins at Berlin has clearly ΘΕΑ ΙΛΕΑ.

Ἰλέα is not a known form, as ἵλεως is an adjective of two terminations; but this coin proves ἱλέα to be another exception to the rule that the adjectives in ως are of two terminations, πλέως πλέα being a well-known exception, and ἱλέα is as regular a form as πλέα.

The coin belongs to a late period, as Prof. Babington justly remarks, perhaps not much before Roman times. The lunar form of the sigma in ΠΕϹϹΙΝΟΥ[ντίων] on the reverse shows it.

The designation of Gracious Goddess would seem sufficiently to indicate Cybele, although her name is not mentioned.

I can suggest no other explanation of ΙΛΕΑ.

F.

COIN OF PLATON, A KING OF BACTRIANA.

To the Editors of the "Numismatic Chronicle."

A LETTER from Mr. J. Delmerick, dated "Dehli, March 2, 1876," has been placed in my hands, and also an article by him in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for February, 1872. In this letter he complains that I have misrepresented

his views in my paper "On an Unique Coin of Platon," in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, vol. xv., 1875, p. 1. I need hardly say that, if I have done so, it has been quite unintentionally. I derived my information as to the *provenance* of the coin of Platon from extracts of *printed* papers placed in my hands, and I had no possible means, here, of testing their accuracy, as I had equally no reason for doubting them. In the article in the J. B. A. S., I notice that Mr. Delmerick states, "When this coin was first placed in my hand, I mistook it for one of Straton," though he, afterwards, rightly assigns it to Platon. I was therefore in error in saying that he described it as one of Straton. Mr. Delmerick's original reading of the exergual letters ΡΜΙ, as "three somewhat indistinct letters which are like ΜΟΣ," was clearly incorrect.

W. S. W. VAUX.

LONDON, *April* 20, 1876.

III.

JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

§ VIII. MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

I. OLD TESTAMENT.

A. *Uncoined money in the Old Testament:* I. Money in general; II. The word "shekel" in Hebrew and Authorised Version; III. The word "shekel" supplied in Authorised Version in connection with silver; IV. The word "shekel" supplied in Authorised Version in connection with gold; V. The word "pieces" supplied in Authorised Version in connection with silver; VI. The word "pieces" supplied in Authorised Version in connection with gold; VII. Various divisions of the shekel; VIII. Remarks on the preceding matter, and on other terms employed; IX. Supposed use of brass money; X. General remarks on the whole question; XI. Weights mentioned in Old Testament.

B. *Coined money in the Old Testament*: I. Persian coins and Jewish shekels; II. Drachm.

α. Illustrative Table; β. Description of the Plate.

I. *Money in general:—*

The general expression for *silver* and *money* in the

Old Testament is כֶּסֶף *keseph*, translated by the LXX. ἀργύριον, and by the Vulgate *argentum*, but sometimes *pecunia* (Gen. xiii. 2, xvii. 13, xxiv. 35; Exod. xxi., xxii. *passim; pecunia*, Deut. ii. 6, xiv. 26, xxiii. 19, etc.; cf. עֹבֵר כֶּסֶף, "money of every one that passeth [the account]," 2 Kings xii. 4; עֹבֵר לִסְחֹר, "current with the merchant," Gen. xxiii. 16; LXX. δοκίμου ἐμπόροις; Vulg. *probata moneta publica*).

In one passage (Isaiah vii. 23) the word *silverlings* is employed in the Authorised Version as the translation of כֶּסֶף, rendered by the LXX. σίκλος, and by the Vulg. *argenteus* (sc. *siclus*).[1]

II. *The word "shekel"* (שֶׁקֶל) *in the Hebrew and in the Authorised Version:—*

The purchase by Abraham of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 15, 16; LXX. δίδραχμον; Vulg. *siclus*).

Fine for an offence (Exod. xxi. 32; LXX. δίδραχμον; Vulg. *siclus*).

Half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary (Exod. xxx. 13, 15, מַחֲצִית הַשֶּׁקֶל בְּשֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ; LXX. τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου, ὅ ἐστι κατὰ τὸ δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον; Vulg. *dimidium sicli juxta mensuram templi*).

Estimation of persons according to the shekel of the sanctuary (Levit. xxvii. 3—7; LXX. δίδραχμον τῷ σταθμῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ; Vulg. *siclus ad mensuram Sanctuarii*).

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[1] Mr. Aldis-Wright, in the edition of the "Bible Word-book" commenced by the Rev. J. Eastwood, and continued and finished by himself (Macmillan, 1866) says, "The Hebrew word is used for a shekel, like the G. [German] *silberling*. *Silverling* occurs in Tyndale's version of Acts xix. 19, and in Coverdale's of Judg. ix. 4, xvi. 5. The German *silberling* is found in Luther's version." The Rev. E. Venables ("Bible Educator," vol. iv., p. 210) adds "that the same word is used in Cranmer and Tyndale for the money stolen by Micah from his mother (Judg. xvii. 2, 3), "The leuen hundredth *syluerlynges*."

The shekel is twenty gerahs (Num. iii. 47; LXX., σίκλος; Vulg., *siclus*).

The shekel of the sanctuary (Num. iii. 47, שְׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ; LXX. δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον; Vulg. *siclus ad mensuram Sanctuarii*; ver. 50, LXX. σίκλος κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον; Vulg. *siclus juxta pondus Sanctuarii*).

Shekels after the shekel of the sanctuary (Num. vii. 13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49, 55, 61, 67, 73, 79, 85, 86; LXX. σίκλος κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον; Vulg. *siclus juxta* (or *ad*) *pondus Sanctuarii*).

Shekels of silver (Josh. vii. 21; LXX. δίδραχμον; Vulg. *siclus*).

Shekels after the shekel of the sanctuary (Exod. xxxviii. 24, 25, 26;[2] LXX. (xxxix. 1, 2) σίκλος κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον; Vulg. *siclus ad mensuram Sanctuarii*).

Shekels of silver after the shekel of the sanctuary (Levit. v. 15; LXX. σίκλος τῷ σίκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων; Vulg. *siclus juxta pondus Sanctuarii*).

Five shekels after the shekel of the sanctuary, which is twenty gerahs (Num. xviii. 16; LXX. σίκλος κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον; Vulg. *siclus pondere Sanctuarii*).

The fourth part of a shekel of silver (1 Sam. ix. 8; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *stater argenti*).

Five thousand shekels of brass (1 Sam. xvii. 5; שְׁקָלִים חֲמֵשֶׁת; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*). Cf. 2 Sam. xxi. 16.

Six hundred shekels of iron (1 Sam. xvii. 7; שְׁקָלִים בַּרְזֶל; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*).

Two hundred shekels after the king's weight (2 Sam. xiv. 26, שְׁקָלִים בְּאֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ; LXX. σίκλος ἐν τῷ σίκλῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ; Vulg. *siclus pondere publico*).

[2] In the twenty-fourth verse the shekel is spoken of in connection with the "gold talent."

Purchase by David of the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver (2 Sam. xxiv. 24: LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*).[3]

Articles sold for a shekel (2 Kings vii. 1; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *stater*).

Taxation—fifty shekels of silver (2 Kings xv. 20; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*).[4]

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[3] In the parallel passage (1 Chron. xxi. 25), the sum mentioned as paid by David is "six hundred shekels of *gold*" (LXX. σίκλος χρυσίου; Vulg. *siclus auri*). This is the only example of gold in the Old Testament being used as a medium of commerce, if we except the passage in Job xlii. 11, to which I shall presently refer.

[4] This tribute of a thousand talents of silver was exacted of Menahem, king of Israel, by Pul, king of Assyria, who has by some (see especially Dr. Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften und das A. T." pp. 121—133) been identified with Tiglath-Pileser II. (but see Rawlinson, "Anc. Mon." vol. ii. p. 122). On the other hand, M. F. Lenormant ("Man. of Anc. Hist. in the East" vol. i. pp. 170, 386, 470) calls him Phul-Balazu the Chaldean, the Belesis of the Greeks, and says that he took part in the destruction of Nineveh in B.C. 789, which date is said to be in accordance with the opinion of M. Oppert and the late Dr. Hincks, though apparently at one time both M. Oppert and M. Lenormant preferred the date B.C. 606 (Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. i. p. 454, *note* 8), which is the one adopted by Mr. G. Smith ("Assyria," p. 190). Prof. Rawlinson, however, thinks ("Anc. Mon." vol. ii. p. 391) that there is strong reason for believing that Nineveh fell about B.C. 625 or 624. Menahem was obliged to raise the money by demanding from every rich man "fifty shekels of silver," as he had not that resource in the Treasury, of which the kings of Judah availed themselves on similar emergencies (1 Kings xv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 18, xvi. 8, xviii. 15). It has been considered (Speaker's "Com." vol. iii. p. 77; F. Lenormant, "Man." etc., vol. i. p. 170) that as the talent contained three thousand shekels, and the levy was at fifty skekels a head, the levy must have extended to sixty thousand persons, and Lenormant makes this to be the number of Menahem's army. But I agree with

Purchase of land for seventeen shekels of silver[5] (Jer. xxxii. 9; LXX. (xxxix. 9) ἑπτα σίκλους καὶ δέκα ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *septem stateres et decem argenteos*).

Meat by weight twenty shekels a day (Ezek. iv. 10; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *stater*).

Shekel, twenty gerahs, etc. (Ezek. xlv. 12; LXX. στάθμιον,[6] σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*).

Shekel (Amos viii. 5; LXX. στάθμιον;[6] Vulg. *siclus*).

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the translator of M. Lenormant's work, who in a note (p. 170) says that it is doubtful if the sum of fifty shekels was not extorted from each [rich] individual rather than the ransom given for each soldier. The sum exacted was very large, but Vul-nirari III. (B.C. 797) had, on taking Damascus, claimed as payment two thousand three hundred talents of silver, twenty talents of gold, three thousand talents of copper, and five thousand talents of iron (G. Smith, "Assyria," p. 68). Josephus ("Antiq." ix. 11, 1) gives the sum raised as *fifty drachms* per head (κατὰ κεφαλὴν δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα), which is incorrect. The name of Pul does not appear among those of the Assyrian kings, but he must have immediately preceded Tiglath-Pileser II. (B.C. 745—727). The name of *Menahem* of Samaria occurs among those of the seventeen kings who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser II. in B.C. 737, and it has been suggested (Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. i. p. 476) that in this case the scribe made a mistake, substituting the name of Menahem for *Pekah*, against whom Tiglath-Pileser II. waged war (circ. B.C. 734—730) at the request of Ahaz (2 Kings xv. 25, 27, 29, 32, 37, xvi. 5, 7, 10). This supposition is not, however, more recently repeated by Prof. Rawlinson ("Anc. Mon." vol. ii. p. 130). But who is *Menahem II.*, said by M. Lenormant ("Man.," etc., vol. i. p. 389) to have dethroned and filled Pekah's place for a short time, and stated to be perhaps a son of Pekahaiah? ("Man.," etc., vol. i. pp. 150, 172).

[5] Heb., "Seven shekels and ten *pieces* of silver."

[6] Στάθμιον, "the weight of a balance," from σταθμός, a balance or weight. The LXX. have so interpreted the shekel here. The corn alluded to in Amos was paid for not with money, but with precious metal weighed against the shekel. The weight was made too heavy. Thus there was a gain in

[For "skekels of silver" mentioned in Neh. v. 15, see under B. *Coined money in the Old Testament.*]

III. *The word "shekel" supplied in the Authorised Version in connection with silver:—*

An hundred [shekels] of silver (Deut. xxii. 19; LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *siclus*).

Fifty [shekels] of silver[7] (Deut. xxii. 29; LXX. δίδραχμον; Vulg. *siclus*).

[Shekels] of silver (Judges xvii. 2, 3, 4, 10; LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *argenteus*).

[Shekels] of silver (2 Sam. xviii. 11; LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *siclus*; ver. 12, LXX. σίκλος; Vulg. *argenteus*).

[Shekels] of silver (1 Kings x. 29; LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *siclus*. 2 Chron. i. 17; LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *argenteus*).

IV. *The word "shekel" supplied in the Authorised Version in connection with gold:—*

[Shekels] of gold (Gen. xxiv. 22; Num. vii. 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, 50, 56, 62, 68, 74, 80, 86; Judges viii. 26; 1 Kings x. 16; LXX. χρυσός; Vulg. *siclus;* 2 Chron. ix. 15, 16; LXX. χρυσός; Vulg. *aureus*). See under XI. *Maneh.*

V. *The word "pieces" supplied in the Authorised Version in connection with silver:—*

A thousand [pieces] of silver (Gen. xx. 16; LXX. δίδραχμον; Vulg. *argenteus*).

Twenty [pieces] of silver (Gen. xxxvii. 28; LXX. χρυσός; Vulg. *argenteus*).

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two ways. Scant measure was sold, and much more was received in return than the quantity was worth (Prof. Gandell, Speaker's "Com." vol. vi. p. 554).

[7] See *note* 10.

Three hundred [pieces] of silver (Gen. xlv. 22; LXX. χρυσός; Vulg. *argenteus*).

Threescore and ten [pieces] of silver[8] (Judges ix. 4; LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *argentum*).

Eleven hundred [pieces] of silver (Judges xvi. 5;[9] LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *argenteus*).

Fifteen [pieces] of silver (2 Kings vi. 25; Song of Solomon viii. 11; Hosea iii. 2;[10] LXX. ἀργύριον; Vulg. *argenteus*).

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[8] See note 1 *ante* under I. *Money in general.*

[9] See note 1 *ante* under I. *Money in general.*

[10] The passage in Hosea reads, "So I bought her [Gomer] to me for fifteen [pieces] of silver and for an homer of barley and half an homer of barley." Prebendary Huxtable (Speaker's "Com." vol. vi. p. 429), in alluding to the different interpretations that have been offered, more especially in connection with the term "I bought her," says that "from Exod. xxi. 32 it has been inferred that thirty shekels was the legal valuation of a slave, and the attempt has been made to show that the several items here specified make up this sum. [Cf. Canon Drake, Speaker's "Com." vol. vi. p. 781.] Thus, 2 Kings vii. 16, two seahs of barley were sold for one shekel. Now a seah was the thirtieth part of a homer, so that at this rate a homer would be worth fifteen shekels, and a homer and a half twenty-two and a half shekels. But the price of grain named in 2 Kings vii. 16 is in all probability specified as being extraordinarily low, so that the items in Hosea would amount to very much more than thirty shekels. Besides, why should the price have been paid partly in grain?"

Different opinions exist as to whether a marriage-price had to be paid for a bride (Rev. W. L. Bevan, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Marriage; Dr. Ginsburg, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," *s. v.* Marriage; cf. Ruth iv. 10; 1 Sam. xviii. 23, 25, 27); but from a comparison of Exod. xxii. 16 with Deut. xxii. 29, it would appear that such a marriage-price was fixed at *fifty* [*shekels*] *of silver*, being the highest price at which males were estimated after the shekel of the sanctuary (Levit. xxvii. 3), the female being estimated at thirty shekels, whilst other estimations were made according to age for both males and females (Levit. xxvii. 4—7). If then the price as named

Thirty [pieces] of silver[11] (Zech. xi. 12. 13; LXX. ἄργυρος; Vulg. *argenteus*).

VI. *The word "pieces" supplied in the Authorised Version in connection with gold:—*

Six thousand [pieces] of gold (2 Kings v. 5; LXX. χρυσός; Vulg. *aureus*).

VII. *Various divisions of the shekel:—*

Bekah, or half a shekel (בֶּקַע, Gen. xxiv. 22; LXX. δραχμὴ; Vulg. *duo sicli;* Exod. xxxviii. 26; LXX. (xxxix. 2) δραχμὴ μία τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ σίκλου. In Exod. xxx. 13, 15 the expression is מַחֲצִית הַשֶּׁקֶל; LXX. ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου; Vulg. *dimidium sicli*).

Rebah, or quarter shekel (רֶבַע, 1 Sam. ix. 8; LXX. τέταρτον σίκλου ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *quarta pars stateris argenti*).

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in Hosea, compared with the passage in 2 Kings vii. 16, equals thirty-seven and a half shekels, and the price is extraordinarily low, it might be taken as equivalent to the "fifty shekels" which was the recognised price to be paid. On the other hand, a "homer of barley-seed" in another place (Levit. xxvii. 16) is valued at "fifty shekels," so that on this basis the price paid would be "ninety shekels." But as Prebendary Huxtable has pointed out (*op. cit.*), even if the payment of a marriage-price can be proved to have obtained among the Israelites, it cannot be referred to here, for Gomer was *Hosea's wife already*, and the meaning would therefore seem to be that Hosea had separated from Gomer, and finding her in destitution and being willing to reinstate her in her position as a wife, he puts her on probation, giving the barley for her food and the money for other necessaries (Speaker's "Com." vol. vi. p. 427; Smith, Dict. of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 250, *note*).

Among other modes adopted in the post-exile period to make a betrothal legal (Dr. Ginsburg, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit.," *s. v.* Marriage, vol. iii. p. 84), one was by *money* or *money's worth*, which, according to the school of Shammai, must be a denar (דינר)=90 grains of pure gold, or according to the school of Hillel a peruta (פרוטה)=half a grain of pure silver = $\frac{1}{96}$*d*. (Ginsburg, "Bible Ed.," vol. iv. p. 269).

[11] See under NEW TESTAMENT—V. Piece of silver.

Gerah, or twentieth part of the shekel (גֵּרָה, Exod. xxx. 13; Levit. xxvii. 25; Num. iii. 47, xviii. 16; Ezek. xlv. 12; LXX. ὄβολος; Vulg. *obolus*).

Third part of the shekel (שְׁלִישִׁית הַשֶּׁקֶל, Neh. x. 32—Heb. 33; LXX. τρίτον τοῦ διδράχμου; Vulg. *tertia pars sicli*).

VIII. *Remarks on the preceding matter, and on other terms employed:—*

From the passages above given, it will at first sight seem that there are three distinct kinds of shekels; (1) the shekel proper, (2) the shekel of the sanctuary (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ), and (3) the shekel of the king's weight (אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ). There is, however, no reason for supposing that the shekels are of different systems.

It will also be observed that the LXX. have translated these different denominations indiscriminately by δίδραχμον and σίκλος.

The shekel corresponds in weight to the tetradrachm or didrachm of the early Phœnician talent in use in the cities of Phœnicia under Persian rule. The rendering of the Hebrew shekel of the Old Testament by δίδραχμον has caused a difficulty to many writers, and the late Colonel Leake in some able remarks concluded that the Attic and not the Græco-Egyptian didrachm was intended.[12] It is, however, extremely probable that the Alexandrian Jews adopted the term "didrachm" as the common

[12] "Numismata Hellenica," appendix, pp. 2, 3; "Num. Chron." vol. xvii. p. 205 *seq.*; R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Money; F. W. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 235; F. W. Madden, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." *s. vv.* Didrachm and Shekel.

name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel.[13]

The reason for the employment of the word χρυσός in Gen. xxxvii. 28, and xlv. 22, cannot be explained.

The passage in Ezekiel xlv. 12 is confusing—"And the shekel [shall be] twenty gerahs; twenty shekels, five-and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels shall be your maneh" (LXX. καὶ τὰ στάθμια, εἴκοσι ὀβολοὶ, πέντε σίκλοι, πέντε καὶ σίκλοι δέκα, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλοι ἡ μνᾶ ἔσται ὑμίν). This is the text of the Vatican MS., having πέντε instead of εἴκοσι, and πεντήκοντα instead of πέντε καὶ δέκα. The Alexandrian MS. has also the same reading. The meaning is obscure, and either may be understood that there were to be three manehs, respectively containing 20, 25, and 15 shekels, or else that a sum is intended by these numbers (20+25+15=60), or perhaps 50. But the passage is prophetical.[14]

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[13] See under NEW TESTAMENT—II. Tribute-money. On this point Mr. Poole (Num. Chron., N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 199) writes as follows: "The shekel was, we know, identical with the Egyptian and Tyrian silver stater. There can be no reasonable doubt that the earlier books of the Old Testament were translated in Egypt during the Ptolemaic rule. We may therefore infer either that the current Egyptian stater was a didrachm, or that the Hebrew and Tyrian staters were. This would really amount to the same thing, for the Alexandrian Jews would not have used a term liable to be misunderstood in Egypt. It is, moreover, highly probable that part of the LXX. translation was made before any Hebrew or Tyrian staters were struck, and that the word shekel as a weight was translated by didrachm, in consequence of its agreement with the weight of the Egyptian coin."

[14] R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Weights; F. W. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 280. Mr. Poole further states that "the ordinary text of the LXX. gives a series of small sums as the Hebrew, though differing in numbers." The Vulgate reads, "Siclus autem viginti obolos habet. Porro viginti sicli, et viginti quinque sicli, et quindecim sicli, mnam faciunt."

In those passages where the word "pieces" has been supplied in the Authorised Version for a word understood in the Hebrew there is no doubt that the word "shekels" should have been inserted, as has been done in many other instances.

The phrase "[pieces] of gold" occurs only once in the Authorised Version in a passage respecting Naaman the Syrian (see VI. above). As the Authorised Version has supplied the word "shekels" in many other passages of a similar kind, and as there is not much doubt that a weight is intended in all the passages, the word understood in the case of Naaman would also probably be "shekels" instead of an indefinite word like "pieces."[15]

There are yet some other words in the Hebrew text translated in the Authorised Version by "piece of money" or "silver," to which I must now allude.

The first is the *Kesitah* (קְשִׂיטָה). This word occurs three times in the Old Testament: (1) in the record of the purchase by Jacob of a field at Shalem[16] (Gen. xxxiii. 19; LXX. ἑκατὸν ἀμνῶν; Vulg. *centum agnis*); (2) the same purchase again mentioned (Joshua xxiv. 32; LXX. ἀμνάδων ἑκατὸν; Vulg. *centum novellis ovibus*); and (3) as

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[15] Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 71) speaks of them as six thousand golden dinars (or denarii), adding that "in the comments of Rabbi Solomon on the treatise Baba Kama (cap. 4, § 1) it is stated that the gold dinar was worth twenty-five silver dinars. This is the exact proportion between the golden and the silver Roman denarius in the time of Herod. In the Targum of Jonathan (on Exodus xxx. 13) this proportion is carried back to the date of the Exodus." How puzzling will Mr. Conder's remarks be to future students of Jewish coins!

[16] *Shalem* is the rendering of the LXX. and Vulgate. Many modern interpreters, however, render the passage, "Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem."

the name of the piece of money given to Job by his friends when visiting him at the end of his trial (Job xlii. 11; LXX. *ἀμνάδα μίαν*; Vulg. *ovem unam*).

From the translation by the LXX. of "lambs," it has by many been assumed that the *Kesitah* was a coin bearing the impression of a lamb or a sheep. Such a view has been put forward in a paper in Danish on the "Kesita," by Frid. Munter,[17] and more recently by Mr. James Yates in the "Proceedings of the NUMISMATIC SOCIETY for 1837—1838.[18] The coins, however, that are quoted as examples of the *Kesitah* belong probably to Cyprus, and were not struck till after B.C. 450.[19]

Dr. Grotefend[20] considers the *Kesitah* to have been "merely a piece of silver of undetermined size, just as the most ancient shekel was nothing more than a piece of rough silver without any image or device."

The confusion in the text of the LXX. and Vulg. may perhaps in some degree be accounted for from the fact that in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41, the words עֲשֹׂרֶת מֹנִים (A. V. "ten times") have been translated by the LXX. *δέκα ἀμνῶν* (Vulg. *decem vicibus*), which looks as if the scribe had made a mistake for *μνῶν*.[21] The real meaning, however, of *Kesitah* seems to be "a portion," and it is probably connected with the Arabic word قسط "he or it divided equally;" at the same time "the sanction of the LXX, and the use of weights having the forms of lions, bulls, and geese, by the Egyptians, Assyrians, and pro-

[17] Copenhagen, 1824.
[18] P. 141.
[19] F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 6.
[20] "Num. Chron.," O.S., vol. ii., p. 248.
[21] Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 194, *note;* Rev. E. Venables, Kitto, "Bibl. Cyc.," new ed., *s. v.* Kesitah.

bably Persians, must make us hesitate before we abandon a rendering so singularly confirmed by the relation of the Latin *pecunia* and *pecus*." [22]

The second is the term *Agorat Keseph* (1 Sam. ii. 36; אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף; LXX. ὄβολος ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *nummus argenteus*).

The אֲגוֹרָה, so called from אָגַר, "to collect," may be the same as the גֵּרָה (*Gerah*) to which I have previously alluded. Both are translated in the LXX. ὄβολος.

The third is the expression *Ratsee Keseph* (Ps. lxviii. 30—Heb. 32, רַצֵּי כֶסֶף; LXX. (lxvii. 30) ἀργυρίον; Vulg. (31) *argentum*).

The word רַצ, from רָצַץ, "to break in pieces," must mean "a fragment" or piece of silver" broken off.

In neither of the two latter cases can the passages imply "a coin."

It is quite apparent from the many passages above quoted that from the earliest time *silver* was used by the Hebrews as a medium of exchange, and that a fixed weight was assigned to single pieces, so as to make them suitable for the various articles presented in trade. Unless we suppose this to be the case, many of the passages (especially Gen. xxiii. 16; cf. 2 Kings xii. 9, 10) would be difficult to understand rightly. In this latter passage it is said that the priest Jehoiada "took a chest,[23] and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside

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[22] R. S. Poole, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Money; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 7; cf. Wilkinson, "Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 151; Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 194; Lepsius, "Denkmäler," Abth. iii., Bl. 89, No. 3, etc.

[23] אָרוֹן; LXX. κιβωτός; Vulg. *gazophylacium*. Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 8 *seq.*; LXX. γλωσσόκομον; Vulg. *arca*. See under NEW TESTAMENT.—X. Treasury.

the altar," and "the priests that kept the door put in all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord." When the chest was full, the king's scribe and the high priest came and bound up the money in bags and then *told* it (ver. 10), doubtless weighing it in the bags. The system of weighing (though the Bible makes mention of the balance and the weighing of money in many places, Gen. xxiii. 16; Exod. xxii. 17; 2 Sam. xviii. 12; 1 Kings xx. 39; Jer. xxxii. 9, 10)[24] is not likely to have been applied to every individual piece. In the large total of 603,550 half-shekels (Exod. xxxviii. 26) accumulated by the contribution of each Israelite, each *individual half-shekel* could hardly have been weighed. That there were pieces of different denominations is evident from the passage in Exod. xxx. 13, where the *half-shekel* is to be paid as the atonement money, and "the rich shall not give *more*, and the poor shall not give *less*" (ver. 15). The *fourth part of the shekel* must also have been an *actual piece*, for it was *all the silver* that the servant of Saul had to pay the seer (1 Sam. ix. 8, 9).

It is also probable from many passages in the Bible that a system of "jewel currency," or "ring money," was in vogue. The case of Rebekah, to whom the servant of Abraham gave "a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold" (Gen. xxiv. 22), proves that the ancient Hebrews made their jewels of a specific weight so as to know the value of these ornaments in employing them as money.

[24] The weights used were made of stone (אֶבֶן). Honesty in weighing was strictly enforced. "Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights [Heb. 'a stone and a stone'] a great and a small" (Deut. xxv. 13); and "thy balance shall be just" (Levit. xix. 36); "a false balance is an abomination to the Lord" (Prov. xi. 1; cf. xvi. 11; xx. 10, 23; Deut. xxv. 15).

That the Egyptians kept their bullion in jewels seems evident from the representations given by Sir G. Wilkinson in his work on the "Ancient Egyptians" from the catacombs where they are represented weighing rings of gold and silver, and is further corroborated by the fact of the Israelites having at their exodus from Egypt borrowed "jewels of silver and jewels of gold," [25] (Exod.

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[25] כְּלֵי כֶסֶף וּכְלֵי זָהָב. The word כְּלִי *Keli*, rendered "jewels" in A. V., may also be found in Gen. xxiv. 53, and in Numbers xxxi. 50; cf. Ezek. xvi. 17. The LXX. translate by σκεύη and the Vulg. by *vasa* (except in Numbers, where simply *auri* is put). That "vessels" are probably intended by the word "jewels" seems likely from the employment of the word "vessels" for כְּלִי (LXX. σκεύη; Vulg. *vasa*) in other passages of the A. V., Josh. vi. 24, (σκεύη omitted); 2 Sam. viii. 10; Ezra i. 7, viii. 27; Is. lii. 11); and moreover there is a special treatise or *Massictoth* (מַסֶּכְתּוֹת) on *celim* (כֵּלִים) relating to the purity and impurity of vessels, furniture, &c., in the 6th book of the Talmud, entitled *Seder taharoth* (סֵדֶר טְהָרוֹת). The phrase "furnish thyself to go into captivity" (Jer. xlvi. 19), is rendered in the Hebrew "make thee instruments of captivity" or "vessels of wandering" (כְּלֵי גוֹלָה; LXX. [xxvi. 19] σκεύη ἀποικισμοῦ; Vulg. *vasa transmigrationis*). In other places the A. V. translates by "stuff" (Gen. xxxi. 37; xlv. 20), by "furniture" (Exod. xxxix. 33; both, LXX. σκεύη; Vulg. *supellectilis*), and by "sacks" (Gen. xlii. 25; LXX. ἀγγεῖα [vessels]; Vulg. *saccos*), though in this last-quoted passage two other words occur for "sacks," שַׂק (vv. 25, 27, 35) and אַמְתַּחַת (v. 27), and the latter is employed in the continuation of the same story (Gen. xliii. 18, 21, 22).

Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 178) supposes from the fact of the weight of the gold (16,750 shekels, or, as he puts it, 17,000 *aurei*) taken from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 50), and from the dedication by David of the "vessels of gold, of silver, and of brass" to God (2 Sam. viii. 10, 11)—it being illegal to dedicate any vessels not specially made for the service of God—and from the absence of any reference to money, that the word *keli* means *coin*. Moreover, that if "vessels" had been intended it would have been written in the plural, *kelim*.

But the vessels might have been *melted down* and then

xii. 35, 36; cf. Exod. iii. 22, xi. 2), and "spoiled the Egyptians." So too it would appear that the money used by the children of Jacob, when they went to purchase corn in Egypt, was an annular currency (Gen. xlii. 35). Their money is described as "bundles of money" (צְרֹרוֹת כֶּסֶף; LXX. *δέσμοι τοῦ ἀργυρίου*; Vulg. *ligatæ pecuniæ*), and when returned to them was found to be "of [full] weight" (Gen. xliii. 21). It was therefore of a form capable of being tied up, which receives some corroboration from the passage in Deuteronomy (xiv. 24-26), where directions are given as to the payment of

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dedicated with the "other silver and gold that David dedicated of all nations which he had subdued," as we know was done in the time of Darius [see later].

Besides the references given above (to six only of which Mr. Conder alludes, *i.e.* Gen. xxiv. 53, xlii. 25; Exod. xii. 35, xxxix. 33; Num. xxxi. 50; 2 Sam. viii. 10), Mr. Conder quotes a "cognate word" מְכֻלּוֹת זָהָב (2 Chron. iv. 21, LXX. *τὰ πυρεῖα χρυσίου καθαροῦ*; Vulg. *de auro mundissimo*) rendered in A. V. "perfections of gold."

It will be observed that in the quotation from Jeremiah xlvi. 19, the Vulg. chapter is xxvi. 19. The following table, taken from the Dean of Canterbury's notes on Jeremiah (Speaker's "Com." vol. v. p. 323) will be of service:—

Hebrew.		Septuagint.
xlvi. Egypt	=	xxvi.
xlvii. Philistines	=	xxix. 1—7
xlviii. Moab	=	xxxi.
xlix. 1—6 Ammon	=	xxx. 1—5.
xlix. 7—22 Edom	=	xxix. 7—22.
xlix. 23—27 Damascus	=	xxx. 12—16.
xlix. 28—33 Kedar and Hazor	=	xxx. 6—11.
xlix. 34—39 Elam	=	xxv. 15—20.
l. li. Babylon	=	xxvii. xxviii.

"As the dislocation thus begins at ch. xxv. 15, it follows that chaps. xxv. 15—xlv. become in the LXX. chaps. xxxii.—li., while the appendix chap. lii. holds the last place in both texts."

the tithes to the sanctuary—"then shalt thou turn it into money and *bind up* the money in thine hand, and shalt go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose."

The account of the sale of Joseph by his brethren to the Midianites affords another instance of the employment of jewel ornaments as a medium of exchange (Gen. xxxvii. 28), as we gather from the account in Numbers (xxxi. 50, 51) of the spoiling of the Midianites, that they carried the whole of their wealth in the forms of chains, bracelets, earrings, and tablets.[26]

A still more positive statement as to "rings of gold" is made in the case of Job, whose friends when visiting him each gave him in addition to a "piece of money" (קְשִׂיטָה, to which I have above alluded) "an earring of gold" (נֶזֶם זָהָב;[27] LXX. *τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου*; Vulg. *inaurem auream unam*, Job xlii. 11). Now had

[26] Hence the gold that Achan took was a "wedge" or "tongue" of gold of fifty shekels weight (לְשׁוֹן זָהָב; LXX. *γλῶσσαν μίαν χρυσῆν*; Vulg. *regulam auream*, Josh. vii. 21, 24). If, therefore, as it would seem from a comparison of two passages (1 Kings x. 17 and 2 Chron. ix. 16) a gold *maneh* contained a hundred shekels of gold, the wedge secreted by Achan would be equivalent to *half a maneh*. Josephus ("Antiq." v. 1, 10) says, "a piece of gold that weighed two hundred shekels" (*μάζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἕλκουσαν σίκλους διακοσίους*), but in all probability some words are omitted, and the passage ought to be read as in Joshua, "two hundred shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight."

[27] נֶזֶם signifies "a ring." Though translated "ear-rings" in Gen. xxiv. 22, it is expressly designated as "a ear-ring *for the face*" in verse 47 of the same chapter, and nose-rings are evidently intended in Prov. xi. 22; Is. iii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 12. In this latter passage the "ear-ring" עָגִיל (cf. Num. xxxi. 50) is separately alluded to. The *nezem*, however, signifies an ear-ring proper in Gen. xxxv. 4, and may or may not have this signification in Judg. viii. 24, 25, 26, and Prov. xxv. 12, though in Judg. viii. 26 the word נְטִיפָה, rendered in A. V. "collar," would also seem to mean an "ear-drop or pendant" (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Collar.)

these earrings of gold not been intended as representing property, all the friends of the patriarch would not have given him the same article, and that in conjunction with a piece of silver; and it seems evident that Job must have employed his gifts in purchasing cattle almost immediately, as we read that he soon became possessed of thousands of animals.

Respecting the actual use of "gold" as money, I have already pointed out the passage relating to Naaman the Syrian (2 Kings v. 5), and that alluding to the purchase of the threshing-floor of Ornan (1 Chron. xxi. 25), showing that in the former case the word "shekel" should have been supplied, and in the latter that the parallel passage states the price in "silver." Nor can the passage in Isaiah (xlvi. 6), "They lavish *gold* out of a bag, and weigh silver in a balance," be brought forward in favour of gold money, there being no proof that because gold was kept in a bag, therefore it was coined. Shakspere[28] is consequently mistaken in speaking of "foul shekels of the tested gold."

IX. *Supposed use of brass money :—*

A curious passage is that in Ezekiel xvi. 36. The Hebrew text has יַעַן הִשָּׁפֵךְ נְחֻשְׁתֵּךְ, translated by the LXX. Ἀνθ' ὧν ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκόν σου, and by the Vulg. *quia aes effusum est.* Gesenius[29] understands the word נְחֹשֶׁת to here represent *brass money;* but this is a very improbable interpretation, as brass or copper was the latest metal introduced into Greece for money. On this question the Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander writes,[30] "Ge-

[28] "Measure for Measure," act ii. scene 2, Isabella *loq.*

[29] "Lex.," ed. Tregelles, *s. v.* נְחֹשֶׁת.

[30] Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." new ed., *s. v.* Nechosheth.

senius understands by it [נְחֹשֶׁת] *money*, like the Latin *aes*, but there is no evidence that the Hebrews used copper money, and besides it seems to give a feeble turn to the passage to understand the word so here. Havernick thinks the allusion is to the gifts which the harlot had bestowed (ver. 33) having become worthless; they were of silver or gold, but they should be poured out as base copper; an interpretation which seems somewhat fanciful and far-fetched. Fürst understands by it the *pudenda muliebria*, and supposes the meaning of 'Thy shame shall be poured forth' to be the same as that of תַּזְנוּת נִשְׁפְּכָה in ver. 15, viz., thy whoredoms shall be profuse, and without restraint. He arrives at this, however, by making נְחֹשֶׁת mean bottom or lower part (for which Ezek. xxiv. 11, to which he refers, gives no authority), and so the lower part of the trunk, the *pudenda*. This is quite gratuitous, and not less so is it to make the words 'Thy shame was poured forth' mean, Thy whoredom was carried on. May not *Nechosheth* be used here simply as a designation of what is worthless, and the meaning be that her worthless favours were profusely bestowed?"

This suggestion seems to be very probable, more especially as the expression "they are all brass and iron" (נְחֹשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל) in Jer. vi. 28 (cf. Ezek. xxii. 18) is used to signify "anything vile like base metal."

There is another passage (Ezra viii. 27), where mention is made of "fine copper precious as gold" (Heb. "yellow or shining" מְצֻהָב; LXX. σκεύη χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος ἀγαθοῦ διάφορα ἐπιθυμητὰ ἐν χρυσίῳ; Vulg. *vasa æris fulgentis optimi duo, pulchra ut aurum*). Perhaps the copper here alluded to is like the "bright brass" recorded in 1 Kings vii. 45 (נְחֹשֶׁת מְמֹרָט; LXX. χαλκᾶ; Vulg. *aurichalcum*), and in

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Daniel x. 6 (נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל; LXX. χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος; Vulg. *aes candens*; cf. Ezek. i. 7; LXX. ἐξαστράπτων χαλκός). This is outdone by Josephus,[31] who speaks of the "vessels of brass" weighed out by Ezra to the priests as "more precious than gold" (χαλκᾶ σκεύη χρυσοῦ κρείττονα), a term he also employs for the "brazen vessels" made by Solomon for the Temple[32] (χαλκὸς ὃν τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρείττονα ἔλεγον).

It will be noticed that the Vulgate has translated the term in 1 Kings vii. 45 by *aurichalcum*, a composition of metals, supposed to have more value than any one metal. Cicero[33] indeed reckons this composition to be a thousand times the worth of gold. According to the derivation of Isidorus,[34] "*Aurichalcum dicitur, quod et splendorem auri et duritiem æris possideat;*" and Bochart[35] has consequently supposed the word *Chashmal* (חַשְׁמַל, Ezek. i. 4, 27; viii. 2) to be compounded of נְחָשׁ *brass* and מְלָלָא *gold;* but the Chaldee word מְלָלָא seems to be of very uncertain authority.[36]

The word חַשְׁמַל is translated by the LXX. ἤλεκτρον, by the Vulgate *electrum*, and in the Authorised Version

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[31] "Antiq." xi. 5, 2.

[32] Jos. "Antiq." vii. 5, 3.

[33] Si quis, aurum vendens, *orichalcum* se putet vendere, indicetne ei vir bonus, aurum illud esse, an emat denario, quod sit mille denariûm ?—"De Offic." iii. 23.

[34] "Orig." xvi. 19.

[35] "Hieroz." ii. p. 877 *seq.*

[36] Gesenius, "Lex." ed. Tregelles, *s. v.* חַשְׁמַל. Gesenius says, "As in chap. i. 7 [Ezekiel] there occurs in the same connection נְחֹשֶׁת קָלָל 'smooth brass,' חַשְׁמַל must, I think, be explained as having the same sense, and be taken as from נְחָשׁ (נ being rejected by aphæresis) and מל, a syllable which is shown to have not only the signification of softness, but also that of smoothness and brightness, by many roots which commence with it, as מָלַט, מָלַץ, ملس, ملق, μαλάσσω, *mulceo, mollis*, and with a guttural prefixed, חָמַל."

"amber;" but it is probable that the metal said to consist of four parts gold and one part silver[37] is intended.

[37] "Ubicunque quinta argenti portio est, *electrum* vocatur."—Plin. "Nat. Hist." lib. xxxiii. cap. 4. Isidorus ("Orig." xvi. 24) gives the proportion as *three* parts of gold and *one* of silver. The analyses made by the Duc de Luynes ("Rev. Num." 1856, p. 89) do not confirm these proportions. The earliest passage of any Greek writer in which the word ἤλεκτρον is used as a metal, is in the "Antigone" of Sophocles (1038) where τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον . . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν are placed in apposition, the former evidently referring to the "pale gold" of the Pactolus, of which the coins of Cyzicus, Phocæa, and other neighbouring states were probably made. Certain coins of Syracuse seem to have been made of a metal of about four-fifths gold and one-fifth silver (Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed Blacas, vol. i. pp. 286, 287; B. V. Head, "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1874, vol. xiv. p. 26), and the gold coins of the Bosphorus after A.D. 200 appear to have been composed of a mixture of gold and silver (Mommsen, vol. iii. pp. 25, 294). But *money of electrum* is nowhere mentioned in Greek or Roman literature except by Lampridius (in "Alex. Sev." 25) who says that Alexander Severus struck *electreos aliquantos*. None, however, have been discovered (cf. Ch. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," N.S., vol. i. p. 88 *seq.*; C. T. Newton, "Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit." vol. viii.; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." pp. xxiv. xxv.). Mr. Thomas (Marsden's "Internat. Num. Orient." part i., p. 44) mentions that Apollonius of Tyana observed "that the Indian money was of *orichalcum* and bronze—purely Indian and not stamped like the Roman and Median coins;" on which passage M. Priaulx adds, "the Indian money is ὕλη κεκομψευμένη, metal *refined, prepared*, and the Roman κεχαραγμένη, *stamped*;" and suggests that the *orichalcum* may refer to the *nickel* pieces of Agathocles and Pantaleon. Dr. Flight ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1868, vol. viii. p. 305) has given an interesting analysis of some coins of this metal. *Chasmal* has been thought by some to be the same as the metal known among the ancients as "Corinthian brass," supposed to be an alloy discovered at the burning of Corinth by Lucius Mummius, B.C. 146, by the melting and running together of various metals, especially *gold* and *bronze* (Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxxiv. 2, 3), but this latter idea is considered incorrect, as artists whose works were composed of this valued metal lived long before this event (Smith, "Dict. of Antiq.," *s. v.* Aes). It was probably a highly refined bronze. In later

Dr. Michelson says,[38] "there is no doubt that *aurichalcum* is the Latinised form of the Greek ὀρείχαλκος," and has further suggested that perhaps by the נְחֹשֶׁת מְצֻהָב of Ezra viii. 27 was meant *aurichalcum.*

Cicero, however, in the passage above alluded to, speaks of "*Ori*chalcum;" and so does Pliny,[39] who adds, "Nec reperitur longo jam tempore, effœtâ tellure."

In the time of Julius Cæsar two new coins were struck of "yellow brass," called *sestertius* and *dupondius.*[40] From the golden colour of the metal doubtless arose the orthography "*auri*chalcum." The true derivation would seem to be from ὄρος and χαλκός, namely, *mountain-bronze.*[41]

A fine brass (χαλκολίβανον) is mentioned in Revelation (i. 15, ii. 18). The Vulgate renders both passages by *aurichalcum.* This Gesenius[42] would explain by χαλκὸν λιπαρόν = חַשְׁמַל. Other explanations have been offered.[43]

X. *General remarks:—*

From the statements given above, it seems evident, firstly, that if the Hebrews became learned in "all the

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times (Joseph. "Vit." 13) the Jews possessed vessels made of this metal. See under NEW TESTAMENT.—III. Piece of money.

[38] Kitto, "Cyc. of Bib. Lit.," new. ed. *s. v.* Chasmil.

[39] "Nat. Hist." lib. xxxiv. cap. 2; Virgil (Æn. xii. 87) and Horace ("Ars Poetica," ver. 202) both write "*ori*chalcum."

[40] See under NEW TESTAMENT.—VI. Farthing.

[41] F. W. Madden, "Jew. Coinage," pp. 299, 300. Bochart observes that in his time the French called "brass" *archal* by corruption from the Latin *aurichalcum*, and at the present time they still designate "brass-wire" *fil d'archal.* For an analysis of this metal see Pinkerton, "Essay on Medals," vol. i. p. 106; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed Blacas, vol. iii. p. 38, *note.*

[42] "Lex." ed. Tregelles, *s. v.* חַשְׁמַל.

[43] Smith, "Dict. of Bible," *s. vv.* Brass and Copper; F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 17 *note* 4.

wisdom of the Egyptians" (Acts vii. 22; cf. 1 Kings iv. 30), they did not, in any case, adopt from them the use of money; and secondly, that nowhere in the Pentateuch is there any mention of money that was *coined*. Nor do the passages in Joshua, Judges, and Job add to our knowledge on this subject. It is true that a "piece of silver" is mentioned at the time of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 36), for which a novel word occurs in the Hebrew (see above under אֲגוֹרָה), but it can only be considered as expressive of some small denomination, and in no way implies a *coin*. The reigns of David and Solomon were an era of prosperity for Judæa; "silver was in Jerusalem as stones, it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon" (1 Kings x. 21, 27; 2 Chron. ix. 20, 27); still it is certain that there were no *real coins*, namely pieces struck under an authority, before the Exile. It is, on the other hand, most probable, as I have earlier shown, that the Hebrews employed pieces of a definite weight, and this being the case, it is remarkable that none of the many excavations in Palestine have ever brought to light an example. I must, however, observe that when the pieces of silver were collected for the treasury, they were melted down before re-issue.[44] It is recorded (2 Kings

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[44] Mr. Fox Talbot ("Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Lit." vol. vii.) attempted to show from his examination and interpretation of the cylinder of Sargon (B.C. 722), which is preserved in the British Museum, that this king coined silver and gold money. The word *kaship* he translated "money" from חשב *kasheb*, "to compute or to account," from the same root as כסף *kaspa*, "silver," and the word *rikkati* "coins or pieces of stamped money" from רקע "to strike metal with a hammer so as to spread it out," hence the substantive רקעים for *laminæ* of metal. But this theory was disputed by the late Mr. Dickinson ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 128) especially on the ground that if coined money had existed in Assyria at this period, it

xxii. 9; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 17) that Shaphan the scribe came to King Josiah and said, "Thy servants have gathered together (חִתִּיכוּ;[45] LXX. ἐχώνευσαν; Vulg. *conflaverunt*) the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have oversight of the house of the Lord." The same plan was followed by Darius (B.C. 521-485), who melted the gold and silver into earthen vessels, which, when full, were broken off, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, a piece was broken off as necessity required.[46]

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would also have existed in Judæa; and it is well known that neither in Assyria, Egypt, or Judæa has any coined money of this date been found, nor even pieces of silver graduated to weights. Moreover, Sir H. C. Rawlinson ("Trans. Roy. As. Soc." 1864, p. 208), who examined the same inscription, though allowing that *kaspa* meant "silver," compared the cuneiform word *raggati* not with רקע but with the Chaldee רגיא, which was probably in its origin an ingot of metal used instead of money, translated in Prov. xvi. 11 "just weight," and interpreted the words *raggati la rusi* as "in solid bullion," though he admitted that the passage was difficult. As to the words *kaspa va zipar*, "silver and copper," it is uncertain whether they refer to the weight of the metal given to the proprietors for their lands, or to the material of the tablets on which the title-deeds were written (cf. "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 291).

[45] Margin A.V. "melted;" so LXX. and Vulgate. The same word is employed in Ezek. xxii. 20, 21 in the sense of "melting" metals (Gesenius, "Lex." ed. Tregelles *s. v.* נָתַךְ).

[46] "Herod." iii. 96. Alexander, after the battle of Arbela (B.C. 331), found at Susa 50,000 talents (say £11,500,000), of which the greatest portion was in uncoined gold and silver, the remainder in Darics (Curt. v. 2, 11; Diodor. xvii. 66; Arrian, iii. 16, 19), and at Persepolis 120,000 talents (say £27,600,000) of gold and silver (Curt. v. 6, 9; Diodor. xvii. 71). In modern times the Persians converted the gold and silver into bars, so as to remove them if required (Janbert, "Voy. en Arménie et en Perse, p. 272, Paris, 1821; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. xi. p. 493; vol. xii. p. 4).

XI. *Weights mentioned in the Old Testament:—*

Talent (כִּכָּר), properly a "circle," "globe," from כָּרַר, "to move in a circle," hence κύκλος, *circus*. Also a cake or morsel of bread (Exod. xxix. 23; Judges viii. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 36, x. 3; 1 Chron. xvi. 3; Prov. vi. 26). The largest Hebrew weight for metals.[47] First occurs in Exod. xxv. 39, "a talent of pure gold" (כִּכַּר זָהָב טָהוֹר; LXX. τάλαντον χρυσίου καθαροῦ; Vulg. *talentum auri purissimi*). The word may be found in many other passages (Exod. xxxviii. 24, 27; 2 Sam. xii. 30; 1 Kings xvi. 24, xx. 39; 2 Kings xv. 19, xviii. 14, xxiii. 33; 1 Chron. xix. 6, xxix. 4, 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 9, xxvii. 5, etc.). It is specially spoken of as "talent of gold" (כִּכַּר זָהָב; 1 Kings ix. 14; x. 10, etc.); "talent of silver" (כִּכַּר כֶּסֶף, 2 Kings v. 22,[48] etc.); "talent of lead" (כִּכַּר עֹפֶרֶת, Zech. v. 7; LXX. τάλαντον μολίβδου; Vulg. *talentum plumbi*); "talent of brass" (כִּכַּר נְחֹשֶׁת, Exod. xxxviii. 29; LXX. τάλαντον χαλκοῦ; Vulg. *talentum æris*); and "talent of iron" (כִּכַּר בַּרְזֶל, 1 Chron. xxix. 7; LXX. τάλαντον σιδήρου; Vulg. *talentum ferri*).

The gold talent contained 100 manehs and 10,000 shekels.

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[47] It is called erroneously by Dean Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 488) "a coin or piece of money." The word is also used topographically, mostly with the article "Ha-Ciccar," (Stanley, *loc. cit.*) for (1) the floor of the valley through which the Jordan runs (2 Sam. xviii. 23; 1 Kings vii. 46; 2 Chron. iv. 17; Nehem. iii. 22; xii. 28) and (2) for the oasis which formerly existed in the lower part of the river, in which the cities of the "round" stood before their destruction (Gen. xiii. 10, 11, 12; xix. 17, 25, 28, 29; Deut. xxxiv. 3), and rendered in the Authorised Version "plain."

[48] A talent of silver bound up in a bag and one "change of garment" was about as much as one man could carry (2 Kings v. 23).

The silver talent contained 3,000 shekels, 6,000 bekahs, and 60,000 gerahs.

The copper talent probably contained 1,500 shekels.[49]

In the Apocrypha reckoning is also made in talents (1 Maccab. xi. 28; xiii. 16, 19; xv. 31; 2 Maccab. iii. 11; iv. 8, etc.)

Maneh (מָנֶה, a portion or part; LXX. μνᾶ; Vulg. *mina* and *mna*), a word owing its origin to Babylon, and which, as the weight was employed by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and Greeks, has the same meaning in the languages of all these nations. A gold *maneh* is mentioned in 1 Kings x. 16, and comparing this passage

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[49] R. S. Poole, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Weights; F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 286. With respect to the silver talent as here calculated, there is not much difference of opinion, but objections have been raised by Mr. Conder ("Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 70) to the estimates given for the gold and copper talents, in the case of the former on the ground of the enormous weight, and in the case of the latter that there is no evidence to show that the talent of brass was lighter than that of silver. It is true that Mr. Poole's figures make the amounts of talents mentioned in the Bible during the reigns of David and Solomon almost incredible. The weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year is stated to be six hundred threescore and six talents (1 Kings x. 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13), estimated by Keil at 1,990,875 marks, or about £3,646,350 of our money. Mr. Poole's estimate would raise this to £7,780,000 (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. ii. p. 542). David had collected (1 Chron. xxii. 14) one hundred thousand talents of gold, to which he added three thousand talents (1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4), besides silver and the additional offerings of the people, which, estimating the weight of the talent at 125 lbs. troy, and gold at 73*s.* per ounce and silver at 4*s.* 4½*d.*, would give as reckoned by Mr. Napier ("Metallurgy of the Bible") the immense sum of £939,929,687. Josephus ("Antiq." vii. 14, 2) gives only $\frac{1}{10}$th of the sum, but even then the figures would be enormous. It is difficult to hazard any safe conjecture on the question, but in all probability the figures have been corrupted.

with the parallel passage in 2 Chron. ix. 16, it appears that the *maneh* was equal to 100 shekels. I have already alluded to the computation given in the prophetical passage of Ezekiel xlv. 12. Large sums were weighed by this standard (Ezra ii. 69; Nehem. vii. 71, 72, A. V. "pound;" 1 Esdras v. 45; 1 Maccab. xiv. 24; xv. 18).

Shekel (שֶׁקֶל), a word signifying "weight," according to which numerous objects were weighed, especially the metals, and hence became the term usually employed for a piece of silver of fixed value. Cf. *stater*—"standard."

Bekah (בֶּקַע), "a half," from בָּקַע, to divide. This word only occurs in the Pentateuch.

Gerah (גֵּרָה), properly "a grain" or "bean," hence the smallest Hebrew weight—the twentieth part of the shekel.

I have mentioned these last two above, under VII. *Various denominations of the shekel.*

B. *Coined money in the Old Testament*: I. Persian coins and Jewish shekels; II. Drachm.

I. *Persian coins and Jewish shekels:*—

In the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia (B.C. 538),[50]

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[50] Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Namely, his first year at Babylon. Canon Rawlinson says ("Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 42, *note* 9), "This date is determined by the canon of Ptolemy. There is no need to suppose that the Jews regarded 'the reign of the kingdom of Persia' as commencing two years later (B.C. 536), for the prophetic *round* number seventy years need not have been fulfilled exactly. The captivity commenced B.C. 605 (Dan. i. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7). The decree of Cyrus was issued B.C. 538, in the sixty-eighth year after. The foundations of the Temple were laid B.C. 537 (Ezra iii. 8), in the sixty-ninth year after the commencement of the captivity." But if we accept the view that Astyages the Mede was the "Darius the Mede" of Daniel, and

an edict was issued authorising the return of the Jewish people to Jerusalem for the purpose of building the Temple (Ezra i.). Nearly fifty thousand persons responded to this decree, and on arrival "the chief of the fathers offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place." It is recorded (Ezra ii. 69) "They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work three score and one thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim*; LXX. χρυσίον καθαρὸν μναῖ; Cod. Alex. χρυσίου δραχμάς; Vulg. *solidos*), and five thousand pound of silver." In the second year of Cyrus (B.C. 537) the foundation of the Temple was commenced, shortly to be stopped by the opposal of the Samaritans, who frustrated the Jews "all the days of Cyrus, King of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, King of Persia" (Ezra iv. 5). This was Darius, son of Hystaspes.[51] An accusation was written to

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was left at Babylon (B.C. 538—536) as viceroy whilst Cyrus pursued his conquests, the Jews, being in constant intercourse with him, would naturally give him the title of king, and would reckon the year of his death B.C. 536, which was that of their restoration, as the *first* year of Cyrus (Vaux, "Hist. of Persia," pp. 80, 81). The late Dean Milman ("Hist. of the Jews," vol. i. p. 415), as many others, rather inclined to consider a Cyaxares the *uncle* of Cyrus to be Darius the Mede. But this second Cyaxares, son of Astyages, is only introduced in Xenophon's romance ("Cyrop." i. 5, 2), and his existence is apparently alluded to by Josephus ("Antiq." x. 11, 4), who says, "Darius was the son of Astyages, but known to the Greeks by a different name." Herodotus, however, distinctly states (i. 109) that Astyages had *no male issue*. See *note* 67.

[51] Some (Dr. Mill, "Evangel. Acct. of the Birth and Parentage of our Saviour," pp. 153—165, 1842) have considered this Darius to be Darius Nothus (B.C. 424—405), but the arguments advanced for this view are by no means satisfactory. Moreover, if Darius Nothus be meant, Zerubbabel and Joshua must have reached the age of a hundred and fifty or a hundred and thirty years at least, as they were still living in the second (Ezra iii. 8, v. 2) and even in the sixth year of Darius (Zech.

Ahasuerus (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ, *Ahasverosh*), who has been identified with Cambyses,[52] the son and successor of Cyrus, and who came to the throne in B.C. 529, and died after a reign of seven years and five months, but the result of the communication is not given (Ezra iv. 6). Another letter addressed to Artaxerxes (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, *Artakhshashta*), identified with the Magian impostor Smerdis,[53] who succeeded Cambyses B.C. 522, and was killed by Darius Hystaspis after a short reign of seven months, met with a favourable reply, and the work of the house of God "ceased unto the second year (B.C. 520) of Darius, King of Persia (Ezra iv. 7—24). Then the work was recommenced (Ezra v. 1—2), soon to be again opposed. Another letter was written to Darius, calling attention to the decree of Cyrus, and asking if the building was to be continued (Ezra v. 6—17). Darius immediately ordered search to be made in the "house of the rolls" for the decree of Cyrus, which was found at Achmetha (Ecbatana, Ezra vi. 1). Darius then made a new decree for the advancement of the building, which was "finished according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the commandment of Cyrus and Darius

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iv. 9). See on this question Rev. H. Browne in Kitto's "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Darius, and Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 899; "Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 42, *note* 10.

[52] Rawlinson (*op. cit.*), Dr. Cotton (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. vv.* Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes), J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s. v.* Ahasuerus). De Saulcy ("Esdras et Néhémie," p. 24, 1868) identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes; so also Dr. Davidson (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." *s. v.* Ezra), and Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Ezra).

[53] "Herod." iii. 61—78. De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 27) thinks the name Artakhchachta *est faux*. Dr. Davidson (Kitto's "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." *s. v.* Ezra) not Smerdis but Longimanus.

and Artaxerxes, king of Persia.[54] And the house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year (B.C. 516—515) of the reign of Darius the King" (Ezra vi. 3—15).

About fifty-seven years later (B.C. 458), in the reign of Artaxerxes (Longimanus[55]), Ezra went up to Jerusalem with a special commission from the king, which includes the following words, "And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the

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[54] "There is some difficulty," says Canon Rawlinson ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 406, *note* 14), "in the conjunction of Artaxerxes with Cyrus and Darius here. It is impossible that the Artaxerxes of ch. iv. 7 [Smerdis] can be intended, since he opposed the building. The Artaxerxes of ch. vii. seems to be meant (*i.e.* Longimanus); but as the Temple was finished in the sixth year of Darius (ver. 15) his grandfather, it is scarcely accurate to say that it was "*built* and finished" by Artaxerxes' commandment. Still as Artaxerxes contributed to the *beautifying* of the Temple (ch. vii. 20), and promoted the same by his edict (*ib.* 13—20), he might be thought to deserve mention, together with Cyrus and Darius, as one of those who helped forward the *completion* of the work." Cf. J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s. v.* Artaxerxes).

[55] The Artaxerxes here mentioned is generally considered to be Longimanus. Three kings of the name of Artaxerxes ruled over Persia, Longimanus (B.C. 465—425), Mnemon (B.C. 405—359), and Ochus (B.C. 359—338). The latter is at once put out of the field, as mention is made in Nehemiah (xiii. 6) of an Artaxerxes who reigned thirty-two years, and Ochus only reigned twenty-one. Some, as Michaelis, Jahn, etc., advocate Xerxes. From the fact that Eliashib, grandson of the high-priest Jeshua, who accompanied the first colony under Zerubbabel (Nehem. xii. 1—10; cf. Ezra ii. 2, iii. 2), was the high-priest when Nehemiah arrived at Jerusalem (Nehem. iii. 1), it is more than probable that Artaxerxes Longimanus is the Artachshat of Ezra (vii. 1) and Nehemiah (ii.), and *not* Artaxerxes Mnemon, as De Saulcy (*op. cit.* p. 42) supposes. See Bertholdt ("Einleit." iii. 1014), J. Nicholson (Kitto, *s. v.* Artaxerxes), Rawlinson ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 408; "Bible Ed." vol. iv. p. 42, *note* 11), § I. of this series of papers.

free-will offering of the people and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem; that thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat-offerings and their drink-offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem; *and whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God*" (Ezra vii. 16, 17, 18).[56]

On Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem he committed the treasure to the care of the priests, "and weighed unto them the silver and the gold and the vessels, even the offering of the house of our God, which the king and his counsellors and his lords and all Israel there present had offered; I even weighed unto their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels an hundred talents, and of gold an hundred talents; also twenty basons of gold of a thousand *drams* (אֲדַרְכֹּנִים, *Adarkonim*), LXX. χρυσοῖ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν χίλιοι; Cod. Alex. εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν δραχμῶν χίλιοι; Vulg. *solidos*), and two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold" (Ezra viii. 25, 26, 27).[57]

In the twentieth year (B.C. 445—444) of Artaxerxes

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[56] Cf. 1 Esdras viii. 16.—Πάντα τε ὅσα βούλῃ ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευάσαι, ποιεῖν ἐξέστω σοι μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις, καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐπίνοιαν λάβῃς, καὶ ταῦτα προσεξεργάσῃ. Jos. "Antiq." xi. 5, 1. This seems to show that Josephus understood that full permission was given to the Jews to turn the metal in their hands to whatever use they chose. Josephus gives the name of the king who granted this commission as Xerxes, instead of Artaxerxes Longimanus, as I have already pointed out (see § I. Silver shekels, half-shekels, etc.).

[57] See *ante*, IX. *Supposed use of brass money.*

Longimanus[58] (Nehem. ii. 1), Nehemiah, hearing of the misery at Jerusalem, obtained permission from the king to visit it, and having secretly viewed the ruins of the walls and incited the Jews to build in spite of their enemies, the work was commenced at once, and notwithstanding frequent interruptions (Nehem. iii. iv. v.) completed in fifty-two days (Nehem. vi. 15). Nehemiah then found "a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first" (Nehem. vii. 5), in which it is stated that "some of the chiefs of the fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure a thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim;* LXX. χρυσοῦς χιλίους; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments. And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work twenty thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim;* LXX. χρυσοῦν νομίσματος; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), and two thousand and two hundred pound of silver. And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand *drams* of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim;* LXX. χρυσίον; Vulg. *auri drachmas*), and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments" (Nehem. vii. 70, 71, 72).[59]

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[58] De Saulcy ("Esdras et Néhémie," pp. 52, 55, 70. 1868) calls this king Mnemon, and assigns Nehemiah's visit to Jerusalem to B.C. 384.

[59] For an explanation of the amount of gold, silver, and garments contributed, as stated by Ezra and Nehemiah, see Rawlinson ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 448); Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Nehemiah).

This register is similar to that in Ezra (ii. 1—70). The *Tirshatha* or "governor" (תִּרְשָׁתָא always written with the article הַתִּרְשָׁתָא) mentioned in Nehemiah (vii. 65, 70) is Zerubbabel and *not* Nehemiah, as is evident from Ezra (ii. 63). Nehemiah though is called *Tirshatha* in Nehem. viii. 9;

To the above-quoted passages from Ezra and Nehemiah may be added the statement of the offerings given, at the time of David, by David and the chief of the fathers to the service of the house of God, among which the following are mentioned:—"And gave for the service of the house of God five thousand talents and ten thousand *drams* (אֲדַרְכֹּנִים; LXX. χρυσοῦς; Vulg. *solidos*), and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and one hundred thousand talents of iron" (1 Chron. xxix. 7).

Though there are several opinions concerning the origin of the words "Adarkon" and "Darkemonim," it is in any case agreed that by these words a gold coin or *stater* is intended. The origin of the term has been sought in the name of Darius the Mede, or of Darius, son of Hystaspes (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ).[60] In consequence of the type of the coins, supposed to have been alluded to, being "an archer," the late Dr. Levy thought[61] that the word was derived

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x. 1. Both Zerubbabel and Nehemiah are also named *Pechah* (פֶּחָה, A. V. "governor"), the former in Ezra (v. 14; cf. Haggai i. 1, 14, ii. 2, 21), the latter in Nehemiah (xii. 26). *Tirsatha* is a Persian word from *tarsâta*, the past participle of *tars*, "to fear" (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 424). Lord A. Hervey (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Nehemiah) is of opinion that the Tirsatha in Ezra ii. 63, and Nehemiah vii. 65, 70, is Nehemiah, as we are expressly told in Nehemiah viii. 9, x. 1; and that it is certain that what is related in the two first-named passages happened in the time of Nehemiah, and not in that of Zerubbabel. But see Rawlinson's *note* ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 445).

[60] Darius is in old Persian *Daryavush*, a form well represented by the Hebrew דַּרְיָוֶשׁ *Daryavesh* (Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. iii. p. 544).

[61] "Jüd. Münzen," pp. 19, 20, *note*; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 19.

from דָּרַךְ, "to bend the bow," from which was formed a noun דרכון, or with the Aleph prefixed, אדרכון, "archer," and that the expanded form דרכמון might have formed itself from the simple דרכון is very possible, for the *Mem* is easily inserted. Gesenius suggested[62] the Persian word *dara*, "king," which would be a likely derivation,[63] as the figure represented is not any particular king, but "the king of Persia" in an abstract sense.

The name 'Darkemonim," occurring as it does as early as the first year of the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 538, Ezra ii. 69), may have been suggested by the name of Darius the Mede,[64] who may perhaps be identified with Astyages, King of Media, defeated by Cyrus in B.C. 558, and who if he was the grandfather of Cyrus, as stated by Herodotus,[65] when the combined armies of Persia and Media captured Babylon might have appeared to the Jews as the actual king of Babylon, more especially if he was left there to exercise the kingly office, while Cyrus pursued his career of conquest.[66] There are, however, serious objections to

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[62] *Handw. s. v.*

[63] With respect to Gesenius' derivation, Rawlinson says ("Herod." vii. 28) that there is no evidence of the existence of any such root in ancient Persian, and that perhaps it is better to connect the term with Darius. Mr. E. Thomas ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1868, vol. viii. p. 286) writes, "The Persian origin of the word 'Darius' is clear in the verb داشتن *Dáshtan*, 'to have, to hold, to possess,' imperative دار *dár*. The remainder of the word is a mere appellative suffix elongated on euphonic grounds (Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. iii. p. 544). See *Note* 60.

[64] Dan. v. 31, vi. 28, ix. 1, xi. 1.—Δαρεικοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου, τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν. Schol. on Aristoph. "Eccl." 602; Suidas and Harpocration, *s. v.* Δαρεικός.

[65] I. 75, 91, 107 *seq.*

[66] Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. i. p. 405.

this theory,[67] and yet it is difficult to account for the names of these coins under Cyrus, unless from a king by name "Darius."[68]

Though the passages in Ezra and Nehemiah would seem to show that coins of a similar name were current during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis, it is a question if the coin called "Daric" is intended by those mentioned during the reign of Cyrus. The Daric proper was probably not in circulation till the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes (B.C. 521—485), who issued a new coinage of pure gold,[69] though the actual

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[67] The whole question of the identity of Darius the Mede is discussed by the Rev. M. J. Fuller, joint editor with the late Archdeacon Rose of the book of "Daniel" in the "Speaker's Com." (vol. vi. p. 310 *seq.*), and three identifications are more specially selected, (1) with Cyaxares II.; (2) with Astyages, and (3)—a theory expounded by M. Quatremère ("Mél. Hist." "Mém. sur Darius le Mède et Balthasar," p. 372)—with the general charged by Cyrus to lead the nocturnal expedition, who was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylon (cf. Des Vignoles, "Oeuvres" ii. p. 510; Lenormant, "Man. of the Anc. Hist. of the East," i. p. 490). Mr. Fuller rather inclines to this latter view. See *note* 50.

[68] The resemblance of the word *dram* to the Greek δραχμὴ may also be noticed, though it is a question if the Hebrew word is the equivalent of δραχμή, as Ewald has suggested, and as the late M. Charles Lenormant was inclined to think ("Rev. Num." 1860, p. 17, *note* 4). Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 183) writes, "It remains, then, that we may consider the word *drachma* also, like other words in the Greek system of weights, to be derived from some one of the oriental tongues, and that the Hebrew *darkemon* and *adarkon* are forms of words from a common root with it."

[69] Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο· Herod. iv. 166. Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. iv. p. 166) does not think that there is any reason for believing either the name or the coin *Daric* to be older than Darius Hystaspis, and that (p. 165) Darius was the first Persian king who coined money. But Herodotus only states that Darius coined gold of *superior quality* to any which had been known

name of *Daric stater* does not seem to have been in vogue till the reign of Xerxes[70] (B.C. 485—465), under whom it is specially mentioned.[71]

It is probable that the staters of Crœsus[72] may have continued in circulation from after the capture of Sardes in B.C. 554[73] to the time when Darius reformed the coinage,[74] and if so the Lydian staters would be those alluded to during the reign of Cyrus [Pl. VI. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4].

There is, on the other hand, no difficulty in supposing that the *adarkonim* and *darkemonim* mentioned under the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra viii. 27; Nehem. vii. 72) are the coins called *Daric*, as we know, as I have above stated, that a "Daric stater" is specially mentioned under Xerxes, the father of Longimanus, and that they

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before (Rawlinson, "Herod." *ad loc.*). The *staters* given to Democedes by the wives of Darius for saving the king's life (Herod. iii. 130) were *Darics*.

[70] Identified with the *Ahasuerus* of Esther (Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 475). Mr. Nicholson writes (Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Ahasuerus), "Nor is it, perhaps, unimportant to add that Norberg asserts, on the authority of native Persian historians, that the *mother* of Bahman, *i. e.* Artaxerxes Longimanus, was a *Jewess* ("Opuscula Acad." iii. 218)."

[71] Στατήρων Δαρεικῶν. "Herod." vii. 28.

[72] The staters of Crœsus were known in Greece as early as B.C. 557—556. Crœsus gave two staters (δύο στατῆρσι χρυσοῦ) apiece to the Delphians for the satisfactory answer he had obtained from the oracles ("Herod." i. 54). See under NEW TESTAMENT.—III. *Piece of Money*.

[73] The taking of Sardes, according to common account, is assigned to B.C. 546. According to Volney ("Recherches sur l'Hist. Anc." vol. i. pp. 306—309) and Heeren ("Man. of Anc. Hist." 1840, p. 478) to B.C. 557. Rawlinson ("Herod." vol. i. p. 336 *seq.*) gives good reasons for the date B.C. 554.

[74] B. V. Head, "Metrolog. Notes on Anc. Electrum Coins" ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1875, vol. xv. p. 258).

were at this period extensively circulated in Persia[75] and Greece. The pay given at first by Cyrus the younger to his soldiers was a daric a month;[76] half-darics (ἡμιδαρεικά) are also mentioned by Xenophon.[77]

The Persian daric may be thus described:—

Obv.—Figure of a king kneeling to the right, holding in *left* hand a bow and in *right* a spear, or sometimes a dagger.[78]

Rev.—An irregular incuse square [Pl. VI. Nos. 6 to 13].

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[75] Pythius the Lydian ("Herod. vii. 28) placed at the disposal of Xerxes on his way to Greece 2,000 talents of silver and 3,993,000 *daric staters*, which together would equal nearly five millions of our money. Grote ("Hist. of Greece," vol. iv. p. 374) has no confidence in the estimate of the wealth of Pythius, but other private individuals are recorded as possessing enormous riches. Haman offered Xerxes 10,000 talents of silver (2¼ millions) to destroy the nation of the Jews (Esther iii. 9), and Tritantæchmes, satrap of Babylon, is said to have received as revenue an *artaba* of silver daily, which has been estimated (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's "Herod." i. 192) at about 1¾ bushels.

[76] Xen. "Anab." i. 3, 21.

[77] "Anab." i. 3, 21.

[78] The carrying the bow in the *left* hand and the javelin or dagger in the *right*, as represented on the Darics, may be illustrated by the passage in Ezekiel (xxxix. 3) "I will smite thy *bow* out of thy *left* hand, and will cause thine *arrows* to fall out of thy *right* hand," which alludes to the destruction of Gog, prince of Meschech (cf. מֹשְׁכֵי קֶשֶׁת A. V. "them that draw the bow," Is. lxvi. 19), and Tubal identified with the northern nations Moschi and Tibareni (Ezek. xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26; Rawlinson, "Herod." vol. i. p. 676; vol. iv. p. 215). The term Gog or Magog (Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3; Gen. x. 2; 1 Chron. i. 5) has been generally supposed to refer to the Scythians (cf. Jos. "Antiq." i. 6, 1; Rev. L. Alexander, Kitto, "Cycl. of Bibl. Lit." *s. v.* Magog). In the cuneiform inscriptions we find side by side with "Birighudu, a chief of the Madai" (Media), "Sariti and Pariza, son of *Ga-a-gi*, a chief of the Saka" (Scythians), whom Mr. G. Smith ("Hist. of Assurbanipal," p. 97) identifies with *Gog*. The Scythians were very skilful in the use of the bow (Herod. i. 73, iv. 132); mythically they

The ordinary daric weighed 128 or 129 grains, a little less than the Attic stater, and was equivalent to 20 Attic

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were supposed to be its inventors (Plin. vii. 56; cf. Herod. vii. 64), and are said to have been specially famous as mounted bowmen (ἱπποτοξόται, Herod. iv. 46); but it has been observed (Rawlinson, Herod. vol. iii. p. 40) that the Scythian remains discovered at Kertch do not give an example of a Scythian horseman, though they show the mode in which the Scyths used the javelin on horseback, and how they shot their arrows on foot.

The Persian youth was instructed in three things, "to ride, to draw the bow (τοξεύειν), and to speak the truth" (Herod. i. 136). The bow they used appears to have been of a very large size (Herod. vii. 61; Xen. "Anab." iii. 4, 17). The darics themselves were known as τόξοται, at least so Agesilaus (B.C. 399—394) called them when he said that the Persian king had driven him away by means of thirty thousand "archers" (Xen. "Hellen." iv. 2; Plut. "Ages." 15; "Artax." 20). The Persian cavalry carried bows (τοξοδάμαντες τ' ἠδ' ἱπποβάται. Æsch., "Pers." 26; Herod. vii. 84).

The javelin or spear of the Persians is specially alluded to by Herodotus (vii. 41) as having golden pomegranates or apples at the lower end (the "knob" is noticeable on the coins), and among the Mossynoeci (Xen. "Anab." v. 4, 12) the spears employed had a round knob formed from the wood of the shaft.

The dagger (ἐγχειρίδιον) or short sword used by the Persians was generally suspended from their girdles (Herod. vii. 61), and was usually called ἀκινάκης (vii. 54; cf. iii. 118, 128; iv. 62, ix. 80, 107; "*Acinaces*," Hor. "Od." i. 27, 5). This ἀκινάκης Josephus ("Antiq." xx. 8, 10) compares, *as to the length*, with the small sword (ξιφίδιον) used by the robbers (Σικάριοι) in the time of Festus, which was somewhat curved, and in this respect differed from the Persian ἀκινάκης, which was straight (cf. Rawlinson, Herod. vii. 54).

The type of the archer which continues on the Darics down to the time of Alexander may be found on the fine silver staters of Artaxerxes Mnemon formerly in the collection of General Fox, and perhaps struck at Iasus in Caria (Waddington, "Rev. Num." 1861, pp. 16, 19, Pl. II. No. 5; "Mélanges de Num." Paris, 1861, Pl. VII. No. 5). Mr. Head informs me that there is an unpublished drachm of Artaxerxes Mnemon with the archer type in the British Museum, and it may again be observed on the rare and probably unique half-obol of this king, also in the British Museum [Pl. VI. No. 13], published by Vaux ("Num. Chron." O.S., vol. xviii., p. 147) and Thomas ("Num. Chron."

drachmæ.[79] *Double darics*, weighing 257 grains or thereabouts, are in existence, though they are very rare[80] [Pl. VI. No. 5]; but there is no doubt that the Greeks gave the name of στατὴρ δαρεικός, or δαρεικός, to the piece weighing 129 grains, which is more common.[81] The ἡμιδαρεικά of Xenophon are probably the *half-darics* weighing about 66 grains, struck by the satraps, and especially by those of Tyre[82] [Pl. VI. No. 14].

With reference to the "darics" mentioned in the book of Chronicles, the writer, who in all probability was Ezra, must not be understood to say that darics were current in the time of David. "We must rather regard him as wishing to express, in language that would be

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N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 232). The same type also occurs on the autonomous coins of Tarsus, published by Waddington ("Rev. Num." 1860, p. 452, Pl. XVIII. 6) from the Hunter Museum, and on some of the small copper coins issued by the last kings of the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ (Head, "Num. Chron." N.S., 1873, vol. xiii., p. 323).

[79] Xen. "Anab." i. 7, 18.

[80] Mommsen ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 9) only quotes three specimens. Mr. Borrell informed me of the existence of nine ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 272). A double daric with a Phœnician [? Greek] inscription on the obverse, interpreted [שנת] "year"—22 and two globules—is attributed by the late M. C. Lenormant ("Rev. Num." 1856, p. 16, Pl. I. No. 3) to Artaxerxes Longimanus. A second has a monogram composed of the letters X A Λ (Pl. I. No. 4), supposed to indicate the town of Chalcedon. Mr. Head thinks it probable that the *double darics* were not royal Persian coins, but were struck in small quantities at some Greek city or cities, as is evident from the Greek letters and symbols which occur upon them, such as Φ I, X, Φ/Λ, M, etc.

[81] "Very few Darics have come down to us" (Smith, "Dict. of Antiq." *s. v.* Daricus). Mommsen (*op. cit.*) however records the discovery in the canal of Xerxes at the foot of Mount Athos of three thousand darics—exactly a Euboic talent!

[82] Mommsen (*op. cit.*) considers them to be *quarter darics*.

intelligible to his readers, the value of the gold subscribed, and therefore as translating the terms employed in his documents, whatever they were, into terms that were in use in his own day." [83]

The next passage to notice is that in Ezra (vii. 18), included in the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 445—444). It has been suggested, as I have previously shown,[84] by M. de Saulcy, that the silver shekels and half-shekels, formerly assigned by him, and incorrectly, to Jaddua, but attributed by most numismatists to Simon Maccabæus, were issued at the time of Ezra, a theory with which I am quite inclined to agree.[84a]

It will be remembered that the shekels are dated 1, 2, 3, and 4, and the half-shekels 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. J. Evans, in whose collection there are some fine specimens of some of these coins, called my attention a short time since to the shekels and half-shekels of the first year, on the obverse of which may be seen *two pellets*, one on either side of the cup or chalice [Pl. VI. No. 17]; and also to the reading of the word *Jerusalem*—ירושלם; whilst the shekels and half-shekels of the years 2, 3, and the shekel of the year 4, have the word *Jerusalaim*—ירושלים [Pl. VI. Nos. 15, 16], suggesting that, from these facts, as also from a careful comparison of the letters, fabric, etc., several years probably intervened between the issue of the shekels of the first and those of the succeeding years.

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[83] Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 271.

[84] § I. "Shekels, half-shekels, etc."

[84a] I may as well mention that Dr. E. Merzbacher ("Zeitschrift für Numismatik," Bd. iii. Heft 2, Berlin, 1875) defends the old attribution to Simon Maccabæus. I shall allude to his arguments in my "Appendix."

The remark about the *pellets* is new, and I am not aware that any one has hitherto noticed them.[85] As regards the reading ירושלים on the shekels of the second and following years, the late Abbé Cavedoni had already observed it, and had supposed[86] that it alluded to the taking of Sion from the Syrians, and that the fortress constituted a second town, therefore necessitating the employment of a *dual* name—an opinion that has been repudiated by De Saulcy,[87] principally on the ground that all the pieces of Bar-cochab have ירושלם, and certainly he was master of Sion.

To this objection Cavedoni replied[88] as follows:—"I conjectured and am now thoroughly convinced that this style [Jerusalaim] would not have been used on the shekels and half-shekels of the second and third years [and fourth year] of the deliverance of Israel without a special reason, which is that the whole city had been taken possession of by the valiant Simon, the Asmonæan. M. de Saulcy objects that all the coins of Simon Bar-cochab have the imperfect reading *Jerusalem*, as well as the shekels of the first year of Simon the Asmonæan, but the learned French academician evidently forgets that Bar-cochab could hardly be in possession of the territory and ruins of the capital of his people about sixty years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus,[89] not to men-

[85] The golden chalices of the Temple were adorned with precious stones (Jos. "Antiq." xii. 2, 10; Ecclesiast. l. 10). Perhaps these globules, as well as those around the cups, are intended to represent the jewels with which they were ornamented [Pl. VI. Nos. 15, 16, 17].

[86] "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 28; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 45.

[87] "Num. Jud." p. 18, *note*.

[88] "Bibl. Num." vol. ii. p. 12.

[89] Bar-cochab was, however, probably in possession of the

tion that in the time of Bar-cochab the Syro-Chaldæan form of the name of Jerusalem was prevalent." [90]

These views are now of course of no avail, as the shekels are ascribed to the time of Ezra, but the fact of the two readings still remains.

In the Old Testament "Jerusalem" is usually written יְרוּשָׁלַם, but it may be found in five places as יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (1 Chron. iii. 5; 2 Chron. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9; Jer. xxvi. 18; Esth. ii. 6). The Chaldee form is יְרוּשְׁלֵם and יְרוּשְׁלֶם (Dan. v. 2, vi. 11; Ezra iv. 8). The Rev. T. E. Espin writes,[91] "It seems evident that the original and proper pointing is יְרוּשָׁלַם. The pointing יְרוּשָׁלֵם and the form ירושלים belong to the silver age of the Hebrew language. Possibly this dual form was originally adopted only by way of honour; as out of the older שֹׁמְרוֹן the later שָׁמְרוֹן was formed (cf. Ewald, 'Lehrb. der Heb. Spr.,' p. 470); and the explanation of the form as referring to the upper and lower city might suggest itself afterwards."

It may be, as Mr. Espin suggests, that the dual form was adopted *by way of honour*, and further there does not seem to be any reasonable objection against the supposition that (if the shekels of the first year are to be separated from those of the second, third, and fourth) the earlier shekels were struck whenArtaxerxes Longimanus gave a special commission to Ezra (vii. 17), who was only absent

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new city of Ælia Capitolina, which had been commenced by Hadrian (see § vii. Imperial Colonial Coins struck at Jerusalem).

[90] Gesenius, "Thesaur." pp. 628, 629. Gesenius concludes, "Ex quo apparet duo illa scribendi genera eodem tempore usitata fuisse, et utrum optatum sit, illis certe temporibus ex arbitrio fere pependisse."

[91] "Speaker's Com." vol. ii. p. 54.

from Babylon *one year* (B.C. 458—457),[92] and the later under Nehemiah, and perhaps also under Ezra, who had after an interval of ten years (*c.* B.C. 444) returned to Jerusalem (Nehem. viii. 1), more especially as mention is made in Nehemiah of "shekels of silver" (כֶּסֶף שְׁקָלִים; LXX. ἀργύριον δίδραχμα; Vulg. *siclus;* Nehem. v. 15; cf. x. 32);[93] but it is difficult to assign a date with precision.

Perhaps allusion is made in these passages to the silver coin circulating in the Persian kingdom called *siglos*, of which twenty went to one gold daric,[94] which would give a ratio of gold to silver 1 to 13. In Xenophon there is mention of a coin called by this name, and said to be equal to 7½ Attic obols.[95] The obolus weighed about 11·25 grains—11·25 × 7·5 = 85·375,—and 84 is about the weight of the silver darics.[96] These coins are, like the gold daric, impressed with the figure of an archer [Pl. VI. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12,].

The Persian coins continue in circulation from the time of Darius Hystaspis to the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. Besides the gold and silver darics,[97] there were octo-drachms and smaller

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[92] Rawlinson, "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 886.

[93] For this latter passage see under VII. "Divisions of the Shekel."

[94] Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 20.

[95] Ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιοβόλιον Ἀττικούς. "Anab." i. 5, 6. Mommsen ("Hist de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 15) says that if we apply to these coins the proportions generally admitted in antiquity for the relative values of gold and silver (one to ten), the gold daric would equal fifteen *sigli*, and in counting the daric as equal to twenty Attic drachms, the *siglos* would equal eight obols.

[96] Plutarch ("Cim." 10) mentions silver darics, apparently in contradistinction to the gold. Σίγλοι μηδικοὶ ἀργυροῖ ΔΙ occur in the list of the offerings of the Parthenon (Böckh, "Corp. Ins." No. 150; Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 14).

[97] The "fifty drachms of silver" (δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα) imposed

divisions of silver circulating in various districts of the Persian Empire,[98] and the coins of the satraps.[99] Under

as a seven years' tribute upon the Jews for every lamb offered at the daily sacrifices, by Bagoses, the Persian general, in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, on account of the murder of Jesus in the Temple by John his brother, the high-priest of the Jews (Jos. "Antiq." xi. 7, 1), must either be understood as "shekels," or with greater probability as "darics." Kitto ("Hist. of Palestine," vol. 1. p. 659) says that Ochus, the successor of Artaxerxes Mnemon, remitted this heavy tax, which has been estimated by Jahn at £50,000.

[98] Mr. Head, who has kindly examined for me the Persian coins in the British Museum, is of opinion that the octodrachms and smaller divisions issued by the great commercial cities of Syria and Mesopotamia—*Obv.* King in chariot. *Rev.* Walled city, or galley with rowers—do not commence till the time of Darius or Xerxes, and that the coins (staters of the Asiatic standard) with the owl and king on sea-horse are probably Tyrian, and of a somewhat later date (perhaps B.C. 400—350), followed by coins of the same type but of Attic weight, and hardly earlier than the time of Alexander. I was under the impression that the octodrachms might be as early as the time of Cyrus or Cambyses, and that even some of the pieces with the owl and sea-horse were earlier than the time of Darius—a view which I find has been taken by Mr. Poole ("Encyc. Brit." 8th ed., art. Numismatics, p. 890),—but I willingly defer to that taken by Mr. Head.

[99] The emission of coins of the satraps as also those of the Persian kings with Greek legends may be considered to commence after the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387 (Waddington, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 19). After this date Artaxerxes Mnemon issued some fine gold and silver staters with his portrait, of which three specimens are preserved, (1) the gold stater (Hunter Museum) struck at Lampsacus (Waddington, "Rev. Num." 1861, p. 16, Pl. II. No. 3; "Mél. de Num.' 'Paris, 1861, Pl. VII. No. 3); (2) silver stater (British Museum) struck at Colophon (Waddington, *op. cit.* Pl. II. No. 4; Mél. Pl. VII. No. 4); (3) silver stater (formerly in Gen. Fox's collection) struck perhaps at Iasus in Caria (Waddington, *op. cit.* Pl. II. No. 5; "Mél." Pl. VII. No. 5) the latter having the "archer type." Of the rare drachm and half-obol (both in the British Museum) I have already spoken (see *note* 78). The silver staters were formerly attributed by M. C. Lenormant to Cyrus the younger ("Ann. de l'Inst. Arch. vol. xix. p. 380), but Mr. Waddington gives strong reasons for assigning them to Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Darius Hystaspis, Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, wishing to imitate his master, struck silver coins, calling them after himself *Aryandics*.[100] For this presumption Darius found a pretext to accuse him of revolt and put him to death,[101] not actually for issuing the coins—for this right was granted and exercised freely by various satraps under the Persian kings—but for calling them by his name,[102] or indeed for placing his own name upon them.[103] That the satraps did at a later date strike money bearing their own name is certain from the cases of Teribazes, satrap of Armenia, Datames, satrap of Cappadocia, and Pharnabazes, satrap of Dascylium, and commander-in-chief of the Persian forces in Cilicia,[104] who married a daughter of Artaxerxes Mnemon;[105] and from that of Pythagoras, whose silver daric inscribed ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗ is now in the British Museum, and who from a Greek inscription discovered by Loftus among the ruins of Susa has been identified by Mr. Vaux[106] with "the son of Aristarchus,

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[100] Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τοῦτο τοῦτο ἐποίεε· καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἀρυανδικόν. "Herod." iv. 166.

[101] Μαθὼν δὲ Δαρεῖος μιν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας, ὡς οἱ ἐπανίσταιτο, ἀπέκτεινε. "Herod." iv. 166. This view differs from that taken by Professor Rawlinson ("Herod." iv. 166), who considers that there was no need for "another charge," as the fact of issuing a coinage would be an act of rebellion.

[102] De Luynes, "Num. des Satrap," Paris, 1846; Waddington, "Rev. Num." 1856, p. 50; cf. § I. Shekels, Half-shekels, etc."

[103] M. Lenormant ("Essai sur les Mon. des Lagides," Paris, 1855, p. 169) has attributed two coins to this satrap upon which the name of Aryandes, written ΑΥϤΑ or ΔΥΙΑΥϤΑ appears in Greek characters.

[104] De Luynes, "Num. de Satrap;" Waddington, "Rev. Num," 1860, p. 435.

[105] Xen. "Hell." v. 1, 28.

[106] "Num. Chron." O.S., vol. xviii. p. 148; "Persia." p. 89.

captain of the body-guard," and the piece itself is probably a specimen of the coins struck by Pythagoras to pay the Greek mercenaries, subsequent to the retreat of the ten thousand. Its fabric and style show that it was issued not long before the time of Alexander the Great. As regards the reading ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗ instead of ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ, Mr. Thomas has suggested[107] that perhaps the Persian genitive termination was adopted instead of the severe Greek, other examples of this type of coinage being defective in the orthography of the name.

II. *Drachm* :—

This word occurs in the following passages of the Maccabees :—"Three hundred drachms to the sacrifice of Hercules" (2 Maccab. iv. 19, ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας; Vulg. *didrachmas*); "seventy thousand drachms" (2 Maccab. x. 20, ἑπτάκις δὲ μυριάδας δραχμὰς; Vulg. *didrachmis*); "two thousand drachms of silver" (2 Maccab. xii. 43, εἰς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας: Vulg. *drachmas argenti*).

The first of these passages was alluded to by M. de Saulcy in 1854, in his "Numismatique Judaïque,"[108] where he quotes from the Vulgate, which gives the reading *didrachms*. He says, "Il est vrai que le texte grec du livre des Machabées parle de 300 drachmes; mais il doit y avoir une altération dans ce chiffre et dans cette dénomination : outre que 300 drachmes étaient une assez médiocre offrande, on comprendrait difficilement que l'on eût appliqué une somme aussi insignifiante à la construc-

Mr. Vaux here says that this is the only specimen of Persian money met with bearing any inscription. But see *note* 103.

[107] "Num. Chron." N.S., 1867, vol. vii. p. 233.

[108] Pp. 26, 27. Why has M. de Saulcy ignored the two remaining passages?

tion de trirèmes. D'un autre côté, comme le texte syriaque parle de 3,300 didrachmes, il me paraît naturel d'admettre, 1° qu'il s'agit bien de didrachmes, puisque deux versions contre une adoptent cette désignation; 2° que le chiffre réel doit être 3,300, bien que deux de trois versions n'offrent que le chiffre 300; mais j'ai tout à l'heure fait suffisamment comprendre que Jason n'aurait eu garde d'envoyer une somme plus que médiocre, avec le dessein bien arrêté qu'il avait formé de capter les faveurs royales, même au prix d'un sacrilége." He therefore supposed these didrachms to represent the half-shekels formerly attributed by him to Jaddua, but now given to the time of Ezra.[109] The late professor Ewald[110] took exception to this view, and quoting the Greek text, spoke of "three hundred silver drachms."

In reply to this opinion, M. de Saulcy wrote[111] as follows:—"J'ai cité un passage du livre des Machabées où il est question de *didrachmes* envoyées de Jérusalem à Tyr, en offrande à Hercule par le grande prêtre Jason, une espèce de rénégat, et cela plusieurs années avant Simon. M. Ewald, cité par M. Madden (p. vii. de l'introduction à son beau livre[112]), combat la valeur de cet argument, et en vient d'autant plus facilement à bout, qu'il supprime le mot *didrachme* du texte, afin d'y substituer le mot *drachme*. C'est adroit, sans doute, mais est-ce permis? Et si cela n'est pas permis, où M. Ewald trouvera-t-il les pièces constituant ces fâcheux didrachmes. Sera-ce dans la numismatique des Séleucides? Je l'en défie bien, malgré le brevet que lui concède le bon M. Cavedoni, en

[109] See § I.
[110] Madden, "Jewish Coinage," p. vii.
[111] "Revue Archéologique," 1866, p. 335.
[112] The meaning of the note attached here by M. de Saulcy is to me unintelligible.

le classant dans la fine fleur des numismatistes de l'Allemagne; ce qui, soit dit entre parenthèses, aura étonné M. Ewald tout autant que moi, j'en suis bien certain.[113] Donc l'argument en ma faveur et tiré du livre des Machabées est encore debout."

I am quite unable to make out what M. de Saulcy means. The Greek text reads *drachms*, but it is true that in two out of the three passages the Vulgate reads *didrachms*. The book was, however, originally written in *Greek* by Jason of Cyrene, a Hellenist Jew of the race of those Jews whom Ptolemy Soter sent into Egypt,[114] and the drachms alluded to are in all probability those of the Seleucidæ and of the Attic standard.[115] The drachm of the Attic standard became almost universal on Alexander's succession, and why should not these drachms be those of the Seleucidæ? Now that the half-shekels are attributed to the time of Ezra, what coins does De Saulcy suppose these drachms or didrachms to be?"[116]

The word *drachm* also occurs in the book of Tobit

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[113] M. de Saulcy here refers to the sentence in the late Abbé Cavedoni's review of my book ("Le Principali Questioni Riguardanti la Num. Giudaica diffinitivamente decise," p. 6, *tirage à part*, estratto del Tom. v. ser. II. degli opuscoli Rel. Litt. è Morali. Modena, 1865; Madden, "Num. Chron," N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 192).

[114] 2 Maccab. i.; Jos. "Antiq." xii. i; Madden, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." *s. v.* Jason, 3.

[115] The passages in 1 Maccab. x. 40, 42 where Demetrius I. (*c.* B.C. 153] offers Jonathan 15,000 *shekels* (LXX. σίκλος ἀργυρίου; Vulg. *siclus argenti*) a year towards the work of the temple and a release of 5,000 *shekels*, are repeated by Josephus ("Antiq." xiii. 2, 3) who substitutes for *shekels* the word *drachms* (150,000 and 10,000), and doubtless correctly.

[116] Mr. Poole ("Num. Chron." N.S. 1867, vol. vii. p. 199) in alluding to these coins, says, "In the Egyptian and Tyrian currency of this time there is nothing but the stater and half-stater. Is the latter a drachm or didrachm?"

(v. 14)—"But tell me what wages (μισθὸν) [117] shall I give thee? wilt thou a drachm (δραχμὴν) a day?"

Critics differ considerably about the date of this book, some assigning it to B.C. 689, others to as late as A.D. 130 Dr. Ginsburg [118] thinks that it was probably written *circa* B.C. 250—200. In this case the drachm alluded to would be of the Seleucidæ and of the Attic standard.

The drachm of the Attic talent, which became almost universal after Alexander, weighed about 67·2 grains.[119] In later times (about B.C. 27) it weighed only 61·3 grains, and thus became very nearly equal to the Roman *denarius*, the average weight of which was 60 grains. This accounts for the remark of Josephus,[120] σίκλος . . . Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δράχμας τέσσαρας, in whose time the *denarius* was almost equal to the quarter of a shekel. Josephus is then speaking of four of the current Attic drachms, to which four Ptolemaic drachms of the shekel and four *denarii* of his time were equal.[121]

An "Illustrative Table" is added, and a "Description of the Plate."

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

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[117] The word μισθός (Heb. שָׂכָר; Vulg. *merces*) is used for "wages or hire" in Gen. xxx. 28, 32; xxxi. 7, 8; Exod. xxii. 15; Deut. xv. 18; Malachi iii. 5; and (Heb. מְחִיר: Vulg. *pecunia*) in Micah iii. 11; and (Heb. פֹּעַל; Vulg. *finis sui operis* and *merces*), in Job vii. 2 and Jer. xxii. 13. It is also generally employed in the New Testament (Matt. xx. 8; Luke x. 7; Acts i. 18). See under NEW TESTAMENT—VI. Farthing.

[118] Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Tobit, Book of.

[119] See under NEW TESTAMENT—IV. Penny, V. Piece of silver.

[120] "Antiq." iii. 8, 2.

[121] See under NEW TESTAMENT—II. Tribute Money (1), IV. Penny, and V. Piece of silver.

(*To be continued.*)

a. ILLUSTRATIVE TABLE.

DATE. B.C.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.	PERSIA.	JEWS.	COINAGE.	REMARKS.
568			Crœsus.			Crœsus abolishes electrum and issues gold and silver on the Babylonic system. Asiatic and Phocaic electrum also superseded by money of Crœsus.	
558		Astyages deposed by Cyrus.		Cyrus.			
557 } 556 }			Crœsus consults Delphic oracles.			Staters given to messengers from Delphi.	
554			Capture of Sardes by Cyrus.				
538 } 537 } 536 }	Babylon taken by Cyrus. "Darius the Mede" governor of Babylon (? Astyages).			1st year of Cyrus at Babylon (Ezra i. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22).	Jews under Ezra return to Jerusalem. Foundation of Temple commenced.	First mention in Bible of coins called *drams* (Ezra ii. 69) [Pl. VI. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4].	Mention of *drams* at the time of David (I Chron. xxix. 7). See notes on this passage.
529				Cambyses (Ahasuerus, Ezra iv. 6).			
522				Gomates, the Pseudo-smerdis (Artaxerxes, Ezra iv. 7).	The work stopped by order of Gomates (Ezra iv. 7—24).		
521				Darius Hystaspis (Ezra iv. 5, 24).		Issue of the gold and silver *darics* by Darius Hystaspis [Pl. VI. Nos. 6, 9].	
520					The work continued (Ezra v. 1-2).		
516 } 515 }				6th year of Darius (Ezra vi. 15).	The work completed (Ezra vi. 3—15).		
485				Death of Darius Hystaspis. —Xerxes.			Gap of fifty-seven years between chaps. vi. and vii. of Ezra ("Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 386).
483				3rd year of reign of Xerxes (Ahasuerus, Esther i. 3).		*Daric stater* specially mentioned (Herod. vii. 28).	
479					Marriage of Esther to Xerxes (Esther ii. 16).		
465				Artaxerxes (Longimanus) (Ezra vii. 1.)			
458					Commission to Ezra to go to Jerusalem (Ezra vii. 16, 17, 18).	Shekels and half-shekels, Ezra vii. 18 [Pl. VI. No. 17].	
457					Return of Ezra to Persia.	*Drams* (the Persian *daric*) (Ezra viii. 27, Neh. vii. 72) [Pl. VI. Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12].	
445 } 444 }				20th year of Artaxerxes I. (Neh. ii. 1).	Nehemiah goes to Jerusalem (Neh. ii. 1), and builds up the walls in 52 days (Neh. vi. 15).	Shekels of silver (Neh. v. 15) [Pl. VI. Nos. 15, 16].	
433 } 432 }				32nd year of Artaxerxes I. (Neh. v. 14).	Ezra comes again to Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 1). Nehemiah soon after returns to Persia.		Nehemiah dies about B.C. 415. After which for more than two centuries the history of the Jews is hardly more than a blank (Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. i. p. 443).
425				Xerxes II.—Sogdianus.			
405				Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes Mnemon.			
387						[Pl. VI. No. 13.] Coins of the satraps [Pl. VI. No. 14].	Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387.
359				Artaxerxes Ochus.			
338				Arses.			

β. DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

Asiatic coins chiefly illustrative of money mentioned or alluded to in the Old Testament.

Date.	*Country or city.*	*Obverse.*	*Reverse.*
B.C. 600—560 (? Time of Alyattes).	1. ? Sardes.	Head of lion to left, roaring.	Incuse square.
		[Phocaic standard. El. stater, wt. 248 grs. Head, "Num. Chron." N.S., 1875, Pl. X. No. 8].	
B.C. 560—546 (Time of Crœsus).	2. Sardes.	Foreparts of lion and bull facing each other.	Oblong incuse.
		[Euboic standard. N stater, wt. 125 grs. Head, Pl. X. No. 1.]	
" "	3. "	Same.	Same.
		[Babylonic standard. Æ stater, wt. 165 grs. Head, Pl. X. No. 3.]	
" "	4. "	Same.	Same.
		[Babylonic standard. Æ half-stater, wt. 84 grs. Head, Pl. X. No. 4.]	
Later Achæmenidæ (exact date uncertain).	5. ? Greece.	King kneeling to right, holding spear and bow, in front M; under the elbow a wreath.	Irregular incuse.
		[Bank of England. Euboic or Persian gold standard. N double Daric, wt. 257·5 grs.]	
B.C. 521—485 (Darius Hystaspis).	6. Persia.	King kneeling to right, holding spear and bow.	Oblong incuse.
		[Euboic or Persian gold standard. N Daric, wt. 128·7 grs.]	
Later Achæmenidæ (exact date uncertain).	7. "	Same.	Same.
		[Euboic or Persian gold standard. N Daric, wt. 126·8 grs.]	
" "	8. "	King kneeling to right, holding dagger and bow.	Same.
		[Euboic or Persian gold standard. N Daric, wt. 128·5 grs.]	
B.C. 521—485 (Darius Hystaspis).	9. "	Same as No. 6.	Same.
		[Persian silver standard. Æ siglos, wt. 83·7 grs.]	
Later Achæmenidæ (exact date uncertain).	10. "	Same as No. 8.	[Same.]
		[Persian silver standard. Æ siglos, wt. 54 grs.]	
"	11. "	King kneeling to right, shooting bow.	[Same.]
		[Persian silver standard. Æ siglos, wt. 85·4 grs.]	
" "	12. "	Upper half of king standing, holding bow and arrow.	Oblong incuse.
		[Persian silver standard. Æ siglos, wt. 82·5 grs.]	

Date.	*Country or city.*	*Obverse.*	*Reverse.*
C. B.C. 387 (Artaxerxes Mnemon).	13. Asia Minor.	Head of king to right, wearing Phrygian head-dress.	Archer kneeling to right holding spear and bow.
		[Græco-Asiatic standard. ℞ half-obol, wt. 8·9 grs.]	
? B.C. 375–325.	14. Cyprus (Kitium).	Hercules holding bow and wielding club.	[illegible] (?) [1] In front Σ/Γ (?); lion devouring stag.
		[Euboic or Persian gold standard. *N* half-daric, wt. 63·8 grs.]	
? B.C. 445–444.	15. Judæa.[2]	שב–שקל ישראל (shekel of Israel—year 2), a cup.	ירושלים הקדושה (Jerusalem the holy), a triple lily.
		[Græco-Asiatic or Phœnician standard. ℞ shekel, wt. 215 grs.]	
? B.C. 445–432.	16. „	Same—שנה (year 4).	Same.
		[Græco-Asiatic or Phœnician standard. ℞ shekel, Wt. 220 grs.]	
? B.C. 458.	17. „	א–חצי חשקל (Half-shekel, year 1) a cup; on either side a pellet.	ירושלם קדושה (Jerusalem the holy a triple lily.
		[Græco-Asiatic or Phœnician standard. ℞ half-shekel, wt. 109·3 grs.]	
B.C. 223 — 187 (Antiochus III. the Great).	18. Syria.	Head of king to right.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Elephant to right; in front ⋔ (?)
		[Attic standard. ℞ drachm, wt. 61·3 grs.]	

[1] This is the legend according to de Vogüé ("Rev. Num." 1867, p. 273) למלך פמירן "(du) roi Pumiathon (année) 4." He believes Pumiathon to be a son of Melekiathon. Brandis (p. 507) reads [ש]מלך נמ[ל] Namsijiten (?), but how he arrives at this I am unable to say. I have to thank Mr. Head for these references, for superintending the arrangement of the plate, and for answering all my queries.

[2] This coin was engraved by mistake instead of a shekel of the "year 1" which illustrates the pellets. See No. 17.

IV.

SOME REMARKS ON THE TOWER SILVER COINS OF CHARLES I.: THEIR RARITY, CONDITION, AND MINT MARKS.

28th March, 1625—30th January, 1648–9.

In forming a collection of coins, rarity and condition are considered the two important points. Comparatively speaking, very few English hammered silver coins can be obtained well struck and at the same time as fine as when struck, and a great number of common varieties are not even known in what can be strictly termed "good preservation." Therefore if the numismatist desires a tolerably complete series of the English coinage, he must, as a rule, content himself with what, for the coins, are fine specimens; and it requires some practical experience to enable him to decide when coins are worthy of that designation. A cabinet composed of all brilliant pieces must of necessity be small, and such a collection will of itself be found simply useless as materials for studying an extensive and remarkable coinage like that of Charles I. Design and workmanship during this reign, range from the very rudest to some of the finest specimens of medallic art, while the coins, as a whole, afford an insight into the extremities to which the king was driven during the civil war, and the expedients he, and his adherents, had

to resort to for the supply of money. Hawkins's description of the coins of Charles I. is, to my thinking, the best portion of his truly valuable work on "The Silver Coins of England." He omits very few pieces not actually rare; he leaves all other writers on the subject far behind him. Nevertheless, the history of the coinage of Charles I. is far from complete; many unpublished coins have yet to be described, and many uncertain ones to be classified. In order to give at a glance some idea of the magnitude of the subject, I will, for that purpose, state the number of specimens now in my cabinet.

188	coins	struck	at the Tower of London.
12	,,	,,	by Nicholas Briot.
32	,,	,,	at Aberystwith.
12	,,	,,	at Bristol.
1	,,	,,	at Chester.
19	,,	,,	at Exeter.
43	,,	,,	at Oxford.
1	,,	,,	at Shrewsbury. (Aberystwith type, with a number of pellets in place of a mint-mark; date 1642. See p. 146.)
1	,,	,,	at Worcester.
22	,,	,,	at York.
76	,,	,,	Of unknown and uncertain mints.
407	different varieties of silver money, exclusive of siege pieces.		

This list presents also a rough idea of the proportionate number of types issued from each mint. As might be expected, the coins of some places approach nearer to completeness than do others; but with the exception of the unknown and doubtful pieces, all of which are rare, I have not sought especially after the money of any particular mint.

Describing the state of preservation of a coin, so as to be intelligible to all collectors, is a perplexing and unenviable task; extra fine, very fine, and fine may be, in

truth often have been, applied to the condition of the very same coin. All eyes need educating, some eyes can only be educated up to a certain standard; and then again there are many fortunate people who, in perfect good faith, exaggerate the value of their own belongings—their ducks must of course be swans. Now, the simple fact of the matter is, that the nearer a hammered coin approaches in appearance to a milled one the better it is. A hammered coin may be as fine as when struck, and yet so imperfectly struck that, unless it be a rare variety, it is unfit for a place in the cabinet of a numismatist. These blundered coins have propagated many curious errors; for instance, a double-struck Plume—the mint-mark on an uncertain shilling of Charles I.—has been taken for a negro's head, and engraved as such in Ruding, Sup. v. 13, and Snelling, xi. 34. A break in the die of a Tower shilling has been described "a fish in the field;" and a flaw in the die of a crown piece of Charles II. has been supposed to represent a boar's head.

Tower crowns issued by Charles are the only pieces that were all struck uniformly round and with the legend complete; but how very few of them, owing to their worn condition, can be looked upon as desirable acquisitions. Tower half-crowns are far more numerous, though they are very seldom so well struck as the crowns; and from the year 1634-5, when the Bell mint-mark was introduced, until the last issue from the Tower with the Sceptre—the mint-mark adopted in 1646, and said to have been employed until the execution of the king—the manner in which the coins were issued for circulation appeared a matter of little or no consideration. And the same remark applies, more or less, to the shillings and smaller pieces. The shillings, however, are

far more numerous than the smaller pieces, and vary considerably both in design and workmanship. Some of the comparatively early ones, with the Heart, Plume, Rose, Harp, and Portcullis mint-marks, may without exaggeration be called works of art; they are of fine workmanship, well struck and round, and sell at high prices as proofs. A few years since I remember looking over a rather large find of the Tower shillings of Charles. The coins were as fresh as when issued from the mint, but not one specimen was worth preserving; all were of well-known types, struck anyhow. They met the fate they deserved—the crucible.

Following the example of his predecessors, Elizabeth and James, Charles I. dated his early sixpences. Strange to say, he discontinued the practice of dating the Tower money altogether in 1630, although a great number of his coins issued from the country mints bear a date; those of the "declaration type" are never without it. The last dated coin issued from the Tower is probably a sixpence in my cabinet with the Plume mint-mark and with the date 1630 over the shield of arms. This sixpence was issued late in that year. The sixpence with the Heart mint-mark, the last published mint-mark with a date, was coined in 1629 and the early part of 1630. Therefore after the year 1630 we must again fall back upon the old uncertain system, and determine the probable dates of the Tower coins by the published lists of the different Trials of the Pix. These lists do not in all instances agree. The following tables relating to Charles's reign show where the documentary evidence is contradictory. Ruding's first list of the "privy or mint-marks" used by Charles (vol. ii. p. 266) seems very confused, and is here passed over without further comment.

	Pollett's Abstract of the Pix Verdicts. See Ruding, vol. ii. (Appendix) p. 457.	From the Register of the Trials of the Pix. See Folkes, p 77, and Snelling, p. 36.	From Hawkins, pp. 196—208.
			Thistle
1625	Trefoil	Trefoil	——
1625	——	Fleur-de-lis	Fleur-de-lis
1626	Fleur-de-lis	Blackmoor's Head	——
1626	——	Long Cross	Cross on Steps
1626	——	——	Negro's Head
1627	Negro's Head	Castle	Negro's Head
1627	Long Cross (2nd Pix)	——	Castle
1628	Castle	Anchor	Anchor
1629	Anchor	Heart	Heart
1630	Hart	Feathers	Heart
1630	Heart	——	Lis
1630	——	——	St. George
1630	——	——	Plume
1631	Feathers	Rose	Rose
1632	Rose	Harp	Harp
1633	Harp	Portcullis	Portcullis
1634	Portcullis	Bell	Bell
1635	Bell	Crown	Crown
1635	——	Ton	——
1636	Crown	Ton	Ton
1638	Tun	Acorn	Anchor
1639	Anchor	Triangle	Triangle
1640	Triangle	Star	Star
1641	Star	Δ in a circle	Triangle in circle
1641	Triangle in circle	——	——
1643	——	. P .	(P)
1644	R in two semi-circles	. R .	(R)
1645	P in two semi-circles	——	——
1645	Eye	Eye	Eye
1645	——	Sun	Sun
1646	Sun	——	——
1646–9	Sceptre	Sceptre	Sceptre

As opportunities offered, I have done my best to secure such unpublished coins as tend to support or refute documentary evidence, and to a certain extent I have been successful in my object. Coins, in the main, support documentary evidence.

Now follow all the mint-marks supposed to have been used at the Tower of London during Charles's reign. I add a few remarks as I proceed, and *place numerals only against those mint-marks that I believe were actually used on the coins.*

THISTLE.

(Attributed by Hawkins, p. 194.)

A difference of opinion to begin with. There are some scarce early half-groats of Charles I. with a Thistle-head for a mint-mark. They are of the same type as those last issued by his father with a Rose crowned on one side and a Thistle crowned on the other (see Hawkins, No. 545). About these little pieces there has been a good deal of controversy. Cardonnel first claimed them for Scotland; but Hawkins considered them as belonging to the first English coinage of Charles I., and not merely Scottish coins as hitherto supposed, and he remarks (p. 194), "Within one week after the death of James I. a commission was granted to continue the coinage according to the last indentures made by that king."

Now I very much doubt if Charles ever used the Thistle as a mint-mark on a single coin struck in England, and I cannot discover, from the published documentary evidence to which I have access, that he ever intended to do so. James I., on the other hand, adopted the Thistle-head very frequently[1] as a mint-mark on his English money—for the last time, it is believed, in 1623; after that year I have not noticed it as a mint-mark on a coin having the English shield of arms on the reverse. Hawkins, in describing some of the uncertain pieces of Charles, is doubtful whether the mint-mark on them is a Thistle or a Castle, but on well-preserved specimens I have invariably found it to be a Castle. A rubbed Castle has much the appearance of a Thistle-head. In July, 1623, James discarded the Thistle for the Fleur-de-lis, and in like manner the Lis gave place to the Trefoil.

[1] See Hawkins, Folkes, Snelling, and Ruding,

The Trefoil was James's last English mint-mark, and by some writers is supposed to have been continued by Charles. If such really were the intention, it appears never to have been carried into execution, for not a coin of Charles is known with that mint-mark. And indeed the documentary evidence, as I read it, would not lead us to look for either the Trefoil or the Thistle, but for the Fleur-de-lis, as the mint-mark on his first coinage. Ruding (vol. i. p. 380) observes that on the 1st of April, 1625 (Charles was proclaimed king on the 28th of March), a special commission was directed to continue the mint at work, which had been stopped at the death of the late king, and to use the dies of the late king until others should be provided.[2] "The money to be made according to the indenture with Sir Randill Cranfield, dated 17th July, the twenty-first of James, which had determined upon the death of the late king."

On referring to Pollett's abstract of the Pix verdicts in Ruding, vol. ii. p. 457, it will be found that the "indentures in force," on July 17th, the twenty-first year of James I., give the Fleur-de-lis as the mint-mark, whereas the Thistle appears for the last time in the seventeenth year of that king.

Why Hawkins, whose opinions are generally so well founded, places the Thistle, without even assigning a supposed date to it, conspicuously at the head of his list of mint-marks, and why he goes so far as to consider the solitary half-groat with that mint-mark the sole representative of the first English coinage of Charles, I leave others to determine. Lindsay to some extent supports Hawkins; but on the other hand the Rev. Mr. Pollexfen

[2] No English coins of Charles are known struck with the altered dies of his father.

(Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii. p. 237), and I believe most Scottish numismatists who have studied this subject, are strongly in favour of the opinion entertained by Cardonnel, and in their views I coincide.

The half-groat in question was probably minted in Scotland at the same time as those early Scottish coins of Charles struck with the altered dies of his father—the father's portrait with the son's name in the legend, and a Thistle-head for a mint-mark. These pieces conclusively prove their nationality by having the arms of Scotland on the reverse.

Even a brief description of the coins to follow would extend this paper beyond ordinary limits, and consequently I must ask those who are interested in this subject to refer to the well-known works of Hawkins, Ruding, and Snelling for any further information they may require. This paper is intended only to deal with the comparative rarity and the condition of the coins, and the order in which they were issued from the mint.

As already mentioned, a misconstruction placed on documentary evidence has led Snelling and others to the belief that the

TREFOIL

was the first mint-mark adopted by Charles on his Tower money. But, in truth, the documentary evidence and the coins that have come down to the present time point in an opposite direction. They leave little room for doubt that the first Tower coinage of Charles I. is to be distinguished by the

No. 1.—FLEUR-DE-LIS. 1625 Folkes. 1626 Pollett.

Rarity.—Common.

Condition.—Sometimes as fine as from the die; but very

rarely perfectly struck. Half-crowns and sixpences are the difficult pieces to obtain in good preservation. Dimsdale's crown sold for £6 2*s.* 6*d.*; Brumel's for £6; Durrant's half-crown for £8 15*s.*

No. 2.—Cross on Steps. (First type.) 1626 Folkes. 1627 Pollett.

This mint-mark is called by Folkes and Pollett a Long Cross; on fairly preserved coins it seems to be a Cross on two Steps. The crown pieces of this type are generally in too poor a state of preservation to enable one to make certain of the mint-marks, and sometimes the steps to the cross are not visible; on many specimens the mint-mark appears to have been altered, the Lis probably taken out of a die of the previous type, for we find the Cross on Steps or Long Cross appear on a mound of silver.

Rarity.—Much rarer than the preceding mint-mark.

Condition.—Usually in a poor state of preservation.

Shillings and sixpences of this type are unpublished. I have a sixpence dated 1625, and another dated 1626, and two shillings from different dies; also an unpublished half-crown with the shield plumed.

No. 3.—Cross on Steps. (Second type.) 1626 Folkes. 1627 Pollett.

Rarity.—Far from common; shillings not so rare as the other pieces.

Condition.—Generally poor and often clipped.

No. 4.—Negro's Head. 1626 Folkes. 1627 Pollett.

Rarity.—One of the rarest mint-marks.

Condition.—Rarely fairly preserved.

The sixpence of 1626 is published. I have that of 1627.

No. 5.—Castle. 1627 Folkes. 1628 Pollett.

Rarity.—Not many coins with this mint-mark appear to have been issued; the pieces most frequently seen are crowns and shillings. The sixpence and half-groat are unpublished and in my collection.

Condition.—Poor as a rule.

My unpublished sixpence is dated 1627—the date attributed to this mint-mark by Folkes.

No. 6.—Anchor. (First type.) 1628 Folkes. 1629 Pollett.

Rarity.—All very rare, except, perhaps, the half-groats, and these were not detected by Hawkins.

Condition.—Fairly struck; but rarely well preserved.

Hawkins (p. 188) publishes a sixpence dated 1628, which confirms Folkes's statement. I have seen the coin. The Anchor on coins of this type is, as a rule, upright, with the shank downward. This type must not be confused with the *second* Anchor, adopted in 1639 or 1640, which is very common, and the coins are of quite a different design.

Hart (?) (See Pollett's list.)

No coin is known with this mint-mark; it is mentioned only in Pollett's table under the year 1630, and is a misprint no doubt for Heart, although it will be seen he gives both mint-marks under the same year.

No. 7.—HEART. 1629 Folkes.
1630 Pollett.

Rarity.—A very rare mint-mark. The half-groat (unpublished) is in my cabinet.

Condition.—Usually poor.

Sixpences with both dates are already published. That of 1630 is the last dated Tower coin seen by Hawkins.

LIS. 1630 Hawkins.
ST. GEORGE. 1630 ditto.

Hawkins includes these mint-marks in his list of the Tower money, but does not appear to have seen the coins. They are pattern pieces. That with St. George piercing the dragon (Snelling pattern pieces Pl. 6, No. 1) is by Briot. It was described by the late Mr. Bergne in his sale catalogue as a "Pattern for a sovereign, half-crown, or shilling."

No. 8.—PLUME. 1630 Folkes.
(Sometimes called Feathers.) 1631 Pollett.

Rarity.—There were many different dies used with this mint-mark. Only those coins are rare that are well struck or of fine workmanship. Some of the shillings sell as proofs—Bergne's brought £5 5*s*.

Condition.—Fine specimens are known.

While this mint-mark was in force at the Tower, the type of the half-groats underwent a complete change. The Rose crowned on obverse and reverse was superseded by the king's bust on obverse, and the shield of arms on reverse. Both varieties are known with the Plume mint-mark.

An unpublished sixpence in my collection, dated 1630, is probably the last Tower coin on which we find a date. I have also an unpublished shilling with a square-topped

shield plumed. It is of the same type as the shilling with Heart mint-mark (Hawkins, No. 512).

No. 9.—Rose. 1631 Folkes. 1632 Pollett.

Rarity.—Coins with this mint-mark are not nearly so numerous as those of the preceding type, and the varieties are few.

Condition.—Rarely fine.

I have coins with the Rose stamped over the Plume, showing that the Rose mint-mark followed directly after the Plume.

No. 10.—Harp. 1632 Folkes. 1633 Pollett.

Rarity.—Unless fine, common. An unpublished crown in my collection has the arms plumed.

Condition.—Coins with this mint-mark are sometimes to be obtained fine, round, and well struck. These pieces are said to be proofs. Bergne's shilling sold for £7 7*s.*, and his half-crown for £6 15*s.* Christmas's half-crown brought £5 7*s.* 6*d.*

No. 11.—Portcullis. 1633 Folkes. 1634 Pollett.

Rarity.—Many varieties of this type are common. Hawkins gives Ruding as his authority for the half-crown with a Plume over the shield of arms. A specimen is in my cabinet.

Condition.—Rarely well struck. A shilling without the inner circle sold at Bergne's sale for £9 2*s.* 6*d.*, and an extremely fine half-crown in the same collection brought £45 10*s.* These prices are, of course, quite exceptional, although a sixpence in "the highest state of brilliancy" produced £22 at the Murchison sale. After this mint-mark there was a decided falling off in the design and workmanship of the Tower money. Perhaps exception may be taken to this remark

in favour of some shillings with the following mint-mark, and to a variety of the Crown with Sun mint-mark (Hawkins No. 477).

No. 12.—Bell. 1634 Folkes. 1635 Pollett.

Rarity.—This mint-mark is most common on the shillings. The half-crown with a Plume over the arms is extra rare and unpublished, and so is the penny. Both are in my collection.

Condition.—Very fine shillings, with the shield plumed, are to be obtained. The condition of the other pieces is rarely satisfactory.

No. 13.—Crown. 1635 Folkes. 1635 Pollett.

Rarity.—With some exceptions, very common. The half-crown with the Plume over the arms in my cabinet is extra rare and unpublished; and the shilling of the same type is also scarce.

Condition.—Fine specimens are uncommon.

No. 14.—Ton. 1635–6 Folkes. 1638 Pollett.

Rarity.—Unless with the shield plumed, extremely common. Half-crowns thus plumed were unknown to Hawkins. I have a specimen.

Condition.—A fine and well-struck coin is a rarity.

I have a crown piece with the Ton stamped over the Crown on obverse and reverse, proving that the Ton followed the Crown.

Acorn.
(See Folkes and Snelling.)

No doubt a misprint for Anchor—a mint-mark omitted by Folkes and Snelling.

The only time the Acorn is alluded to by Hawkins is in the reign of Elizabeth. It appears likewise, however, on an unpublished groat of the second coinage or eighteenth

year of Henry VIII. This coin was issued by Cardinal Wolsey, and has his initials, T. W., at the sides of the shield, and the Cardinal's hat below. This piece was in the Murchison collection, and is now in mine.

No. 15.—ANCHOR. (Second type.) 1638 Folkes. 1639 Pollett.

Rarity.—The second Anchor is perhaps the commonest of the Tower mint-marks.

Condition.—Very seldom well struck and fine.

The Anchor of this year is not always represented in the same position on both sides of the coin. Sometimes the shank is to our right, sometimes to our left, and sometimes, though not often, the Anchor is upright with shank downward. Only on the coins of Henry VII. have I noticed the shank of the Anchor upward.

No. 16.—TRIANGLE.[3] 1639 Folkes. 1640 Pollett.

Rarity.—Mostly common. Half-crowns without ground under the horse are rarer than those with ground. Pennies are extremely rare; two varieties are in

[3] One of the coining-irons used for striking a reverse to the Tower half-crowns, with the Triangle mint-mark, happened, "many years ago," to be discovered underground at Shrewsbury. It was lately sent to Mr. Henfrey, who considers "it very probable" (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xiv. p. 106) that this die was actually used for striking coins at the mint erected at Shrewsbury in 1642, although no alteration whatever is noticeable on the die, which, of a certainty, is a Tower one. In other words, Mr. Henfrey is of opinion that the Shrewsbury half-crowns of 1642, and those coined at the Tower in 1639-40, are absolutely alike, and are not to be distinguished the one from the other. What can be more improbable and bewildering than such a theory, in the face, too, of documentary evidence which points clearly in the direction we have to look for the type of the Shrewsbury money. Shrewsbury coins were struck by the Aberystwith moneyers, who proceeded there with their

my cabinet. Hawkins doubts the existence of these pieces. He remarks (p. 196), "Ruding mentions the Triangle as the mint-mark of a penny. He probably meant the Portcullis, which he has omitted. This was the last mint-mark which appeared upon a Tower penny."

Condition.—Indifferent. Half-crowns fair for this period.

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coining implements in 1642. Ruding (vol. ii. p. 239) states "that Mr. Bushell brought from Wales to Shrewsbury his mint, instruments, miners, and moneyers when neither men nor tools could be had from London." In fact, from 1640 until the king's death, the Tower of London appears virtually to have been in the possession of the Parliament. Even supposing that, by chance, some coins were struck at Shrewsbury, or elsewhere, with a die abstracted from the Tower, would that circumstance make those coins any the less Tower coins if the die remained unaltered? Once admit the probability of such a theory, and it would be waste of time to attempt the classification of coins. True Shrewsbury half-crowns have, I consider, come down to the present time. Hawkins (p. 181) first threw out a suggestion as to their type, and his suggestion was followed up by me (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 152). The obverse of the half-crown referred to is of the Aberystwith type, the reverse having Charles's well-known declaration and the date 1642. A number of pellets take the place of a mint-mark. Probably the Open Book—which with very few exceptions was the Aberystwith mint-mark—was erased from some obverse dies brought from that place, and these altered dies, together with fresh reverses, may have produced the Shrewsbury money; or it may be the obverse dies as well as the reverse dies were entirely new, for it by no means follows that, because coins have one or more pellets in lieu of a mint-mark, they were necessarily struck with altered dies. To such extremities were the Royalists driven during the civil war, that many coins were issued in the name of the king without either date or mint-mark; and here is the great difficulty we have to contend with as regards their classification, and I fear many coins of Charles I. will for ever remain "Uncertain Pieces." Mr. Webster takes the same view as Hawkins and myself in respect to the type of the Shrewsbury money. There were two half-crowns of the Aberystwith type, with pellets in place of a mint-mark, in the collection of the late Mr. Rishton. They were sold at auction last year with his other coins, and were catalogued by Mr. Webster as Shrewsbury half-crowns.

I have several coins with the Triangle stamped over the Anchor, showing that the Triangle followed the Anchor.

No. 17.—Star. 1640 Folkes. 1641 Pollett.

Rarity.—Crowns very rare; half-crowns, without ground under horse, common; with ground, extra rare and unpublished.

Condition.—Half-crowns, without ground, to be obtained in good condition.

I have a half-crown with the Star struck over the Triangle, proving that the Star followed the Triangle. While this mint-mark or (possibly)[4] the Triangle was being used, the Tower of London appears to have been seized by the Parliament.[5]

No. 18.—Triangle in a Circle. 1641 Folkes and Pollett.

Rarity.—About the same as the preceding type.

Condition.—Half-crowns are the only pieces not difficult to secure in good condition.

No. 19.—P within brackets. 1643 Folkes. 1645 Pollett.

Rarity.—Crown and sixpence extra rare; half-groat very rare. These unpublished pieces are in my collection.

Condition.—Badly struck coins. Half-crowns rather better than the smaller pieces. A fine shilling with this mint-mark was sold at the Bergne sale for £4 8s.

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[4] I prefer Folkes's list to Pollett's; so, apparently, did Hawkins.

[5] "It should seem that, after the Parliament had seized the Tower, almost all the officers of the mint were employed by them; for the moneyers stated that in five years, viz. from 1640 to 1645, they coined for the Parliament about six millions of silver."—Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," vol. ii. p. 29, and Ruding, vol. ii. p. 209.

No. 20.—R WITHIN BRACKETS. 1644 Folkes and Pollett.

Rarity.—Half-crowns (which however had not been seen by Hawkins) are perhaps the commonest pieces with this mint-mark.

Condition.—Poor.

No. 21.—EYE. 1645 Folkes and Pollett.

Rarity.—Mostly common. The half-groat (unpublished) is in my collection.

Condition.—With the exception of the crown seldom in fair condition.

No. 22.—SUN. 1645 Folkes. 1646 Pollett.
(Two distinct types.)

Rarity.—Half-crowns, type of the crown, Hawkins No. 477, rather rare; shillings, Hawkins 517, rare. The crown, Hawkins No. 477, is of superior work for the period. A difference of opinion exists as to its being Simon's work.

Condition.—Seldom fine.

I have a half-crown with the Sun mint-mark struck over the Eye, proving that the Sun followed the Eye.

No. 23.—SCEPTRE. 1646 to 1649 Folkes and Pollett.

Rarity.—Half-crowns very rare; sixpences rather rare; crown and penny, if issued, not yet discovered. Of the shillings there are four varieties.

Condition.—Shillings sometimes fine; half-crowns very poor.

Documentary evidence is agreed that this mint-mark was introduced into the Tower of London in 1646, and continued in force until the execution of the king, 30th January, 1648-9.

The selection, by the Parliament, of a Sceptre for a mint-mark at this particular period of English history is a curious coincidence; or, was it adopted simply as an outward sign of loyalty?

J. FRED. NECK.

V.

UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF ANGLO-SAXON AND ENGLISH COINS.

I HAVE the following unpublished varieties of Anglo-Saxon and English coins in my collection.

ANGLO-SAXON.

A PENNY OF ECGBEORHT. A.D. 800-37.

Obv.—+EDGBEORHT REX. In the centre SAXONIORVM, in three lines.

Rev.—+EANPALD MONETA. In the centre a cross patonce.

A PENNY OF ANLAF. A.D. 941-55.

Obv.—·+A·NL-AF CVNVNCIΓ. The Danish raven, the badge of their enchanted standard, in the centre. Slightly different to Hawkins, No. 127.

Rev.—+·AÐEL·FERD MINETRIΓ. In the centre a small cross. Ruding, Pl. II. No. 1, reads MINETI; and Hawkins, No. 127, MINETR.

This coin differs slightly from that described in the Num. Chron., N.S., Vol. iii., p. 52, No. 46.

A PENNY OF EADRED. A.D. 946-55.

Obv.—+EADRED RE. Crowned bust, in profile to the right. Varied from Hawkins, No. 194.

Rev.—∴ +ſUINCE ON+∴+LE (Leicester ?). In the centre a small cross.

Neither the moneyer nor mint is mentioned in Ruding, Lindsay, or Hawkins.

A PENNY OF EADGAR. A.D. 959-75.

Obv.—+E·Ꞧ·DGꞦR REX. In the centre a small cross.[1]

Rev.—VNBEON M.¯Z. in two lines, with three small crosses between. Above and below, three pellets.

The letters MZ. (for *Monetarius*) are singular.

A PENNY OF CANUTE. A.D. 1016-35.

Obv.—×ꞮVNΛN+REX. Bust in profile to the right, the hair erected, with small pellets at the ends.

Rev.—+LEFVINE ⊙N LINC⊙ (Lincoln). A cross within the inner circle, with a segment of a circle with pellets at the ends, in each angle.

A PENNY OF HAROLD I. A.D. 1035-40.

Obv.—+HΛROLD REX. Bust in profile to the left, with a kind of bonnet or helmet, surrounded by a double fillet. A sceptre fleury before it. Similar to Hawkins, No. 214.

Rev.—LEOPIVE EON ONL (London). A cross voided, extending to the edge of the coin, with a flower in each angle issuing from a compartment in the centre. The upper limb of the cross terminating in crescents.

ENGLISH.

A PENNY OF RICHARD II. A.D. 1377-99.

Obv.—+ RICꞦRDVS ‡ RЄX + ꞦNЄILIЄ (*sic*). Crowned full-faced bust, within a circle. A pellet above each shoulder, and a small cross on the breast. Near the end of the right curl there is a small pellet, but it may only be a detached portion of the curl.

Rev.—+ꞮIVITꞦS ЄBORꞦꞮI. A cross potent extending to the edge of the coin, with a quatrefoil in the centre, and three pellets in each quarter.

A Groat of Edward IV. A.D. 1461-83.

Obv.—ЄWΛRD′ (*sic*) + DI ЄRΛ + RЄX ÷ ANЄL + ⸗ FRΛNCIЄ. Crowned full-faced bust, in a double tressure of nine arches, with a quatrefoil on each side of the neck. M.M. a rose.

Rev.—Outer circle, POSVI DЄVM + ΛDIVTORЄ + MЄVM. Inner circle, CIVITΛS LONDON. Usual type. In the centre of the pellets in the second quarter there is a smaller pellet. M.M. a rose.

A Sixpence of James I. A.D. 1602-25.

Obv.—IACCBVS D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET HIB : REX. . Bust in profile to the right, crowned and in armour, with a tufted beard. Behind the head, VI. M.M. a fleur-de-lis.

Rev.—QVÆ DEVS CONIVNXIT NEMO SEPARET. The royal arms quarterly, in a plain shield: first and fourth, France and England quartered; second, Scotland; third, Ireland. The quarterings of the arms of France and England in the first quarter are, however, placed first and *third*, second and *fourth*, instead of first and *fourth*, second and *third*. The date 1623 over the shield. M.M. a fleur-de-lis.

This coin is probably unique.

A Penny of Charles I. A.D. 1625-46.

Obv.—CAROLVS D. G. M. B. F. ET H. REX. Crowned bust in profile to the left, with long hair and falling lace collar. Behind the head, I.; before the chin an annulet. No inner circle. M.M. an annulet. Varied from Ruding, Pl. XX., No. 11.

Rev.—IVSTITIA THRONVM FIRMAT. The royal arms quarterly, in a garnished oval shield. No inner circle.

A. B. Creeke.

Monkholme, Burnley.

VI.

THE HOG MONEY OF THE SOMERS ISLANDS.

THE difficulty of obtaining currency for the new transatlantic settlements, was one which made itself felt very early in the colonization of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Spain herself, mistress of the precious metals, could not at first solve it. In 1586 they used in St. Domingo and Porto Rico a currency of small square pieces of leather, for want of silver and gold,[1] and, some years later, in 1638, a paper money.[2] It is therefore no matter of surprise that the Virginia Company of London, in obtaining from James I. a charter for the settlement of

[1] See Southey's Chronological History of the West Indies, i. p. 208.
[2] Ibid., i. p. 280.

the Bermudas (1612), should have contemplated the issue of a special coinage. In their instructions, dated April 27, 1612, to their first Governor, Mr. Richard Moore, they say (Art. 4):—"Wee ordaine that such persons, workemen or laborers, as shall at any tyme be employed by you for our busines in the said Plantacon, you shall give vnto them such reasonable day wages as in your discretion you shall esteeme them worthie to have deserved, so that exceed not xx*d.* for workmen and 12*d.* for a labourer, for which purpose by the next supplie there shalbe a coyne sent vnto you withall convenient opportunitie, togeather with the rates and value thereof."—(Bermuda Records, MS. A.)

The "next supplie," we learn from Smith's "History of Virginia," was not long delayed. It arrived in the same year, and another in June, 1613, but as that author is silent as to any money having arrived, by either or at any time in Governor Moore's reign, it seems probable that the Company did not make good their intention.

The Virginia Company resigned the Bermudas to the Crown in November, 1614, and they were shortly afterwards granted to a new Incorporation, entitled the Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somer Islands, by letters patent, dated June 29, 1615, in which distinct provision is made for the issue of a coinage, in the following terms:—

"And Wee do further for us, our Heires and successors, give and Grant to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, that they shall and lawfully may Establish and cause to bee made a Coyne to pass Currant in their said Somer Islands, betweene the Inhabitants there for the more easey of comerce and bargaining betweene them (*sic*) of such metall and in such manner and forme

as the said Governor and company in any of their said Generall Courts, shall limitt and appoint."

This coinage is distinctly alluded to by Smith :—"Besides meat, drinke, and clothes, they had for a time a certain kind of brasse money, with a Hogge on the one side, in memory of the abundance of hogges, was found at their first landing" (Smith, under 1616), and the Company in their instructions to Governor Daniell Tucker, dated February 15, 1615, Par. 25, says :—"Yf any refuse and will not accept his contentment out of the p.ffits in that case, we have appointed a base coyne, wch we send rated with our p.visions, whereby you may give to such men there weekely wages when they worke, and as you shall find them to deserve, wth wch coyne yt shalbe lawfull and free for them to buy any p.visions out of the store, or any ffishe, corne, tooles, or any such thinge in the Islands where they can gett the same. And to that end you shall p.claime the sayde coyne to be currant to pass freelye from man to man, only throughout the Islands, and not otherwise."

Par. 26 :—"And yf by this meanes yt shall soe fall out that many men of the said general imploym^{t} shall rather accept to take there contentment by such weekely wages, in Base coyne, whereby the number of those that rest contented with the contract of p.ffitts beinge the fewer, the lesse p.portion of p.ffitts must yssue from vs to give them content, yet for theire better incouragement wee p.mise of our owne voluntarye, that the one-half of whatsoever shalbe found that wee have gained by the contentinge soe many with base coyne, shalbe freely imparted by vs to those that have willinglie yielded to take there salarye out of the p.ffitts to make there dividents the better."

The Hog money of the Somers Islands, as it is the

earliest of all colonial coins, has also been regarded as the rarest. A specimen sold at the sale of the Rev. Jos. Martin, which I take to have been the piece at one time in the cabinet of Thomas Hollis, was then supposed to be unique. It was engraved by Snelling, 1769,[3] and by Ruding,[4] and described in this Journal[5] by the late Mr. Henry Christmas, as the only specimen known to exist. It was of the xii*d.* value. The existence of a smaller type of vi*d.* current value, does not appear to have been known to either of these authorities, and the writer has only seen three examples, one of which is engraved at the head of this notice. Of the larger type there are in Bermuda itself about eight examples, one of which was found as recently as last year, but of these, two or three are indifferent specimens.

Mr. Christmas's description is as follows:—

TYPE I.

Obv.—**SOMER ISLANDS.** A wild boar, with the Roman numerals **XII.** MM, a mullet of five points.

There seems to have been a misprint in the word **SOMER**, as it is spelt **SOMMER** on the coins, and also in the engravings of Snelling and Ruding.

Rev.—A ship under sail firing a gun [with the cross of St. George at every masthead].

There is something projecting beyond the prow of a curved character, which may possibly be intended for the

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[3] Miscellaneous views of the Coins Struck by English Princes, &c., &c. By Thomas Snelling. London, MDCCLXIX. Pl. iv. 15.
[4] Suppt., Part. ii. Pl. vii. 14.
[5] Num. Chron., vol. ii., N.S., 1861, p. 210.

smoke of a cannon, but seems more like a fantastic beak. A defect in the striking of the side of the ship may possibly have been mistaken for the representation of smoke from a cannon.

TYPE II.

Obv.—**SOMMER ILANDS.** A wild boar, with the Roman numerals **VI.** MM, a cross.

Rev.—A ship under sail, with the cross of St. George at every masthead.

The hogs are very well drawn, and do not bear out the statements of the half-starved character of those animals in their wild state. The ships, with their high poop and forecastle, are of a very ancient type.

The records of the colony of Bermuda are extant from the year 1616 downwards, but careful and repeated examination has failed to discover any allusion to this coinage. The currency was tobacco; all debts were recovered and paid in tobacco; all taxes were assessed and levied in tobacco. It would seem as if an inseparable prejudice, which the Company seem to have anticipated, had from the commencement prevented the circulation of money without intrinsic value. Where tobacco is not mentioned, the word sterling is always introduced, and this is perhaps the only ground for a supposition that there may once have been a metallic currency in temporary circulation; but as the coins were not intended to leave the colony, the very limited number of specimens now known to have been preserved, is itself an argument that few were ever issued.

J. H. LEFROY.

BERMUDA, *February*, 1867.

VII.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE NAVAL MEDALS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

SINCE I wrote my former "Notes on the Naval Honorary Medals of the Commonwealth," printed in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, N.S., vol. xv. pp. 81—84, the publication of Mrs. Green's useful "Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1649, 1650,"[1] has made known to me a few more notices concerning these medals, which I had overlooked when searching the State Papers without the aid of an index.

With regard to the small oval medal bearing the word "MERVISTI," I have previously shown (vol. xv. p. 81), that this medal was given for services performed in the summer of 1649. I am now able to state what these services were, and by whom done.

It appears that, in the spring of 1649, the Commonwealth's ship *Happy Entrance*, Captain Richard Badiley, was stationed in the Downs, as one of a convoy squadron, for the protection of the merchant shipping. The *Happy Entrance* also carried Colonel Edward Popham as Commander-in-Chief of this squadron. On the 23rd April, 1649, the Council of State wrote a letter to the Generals-at-Sea (of whom Popham was one), desiring them to order the capture or destruction of the *Antelope* (pro-

[1] London, 1875, 8vo.

bably a royalist ship and one of Rupert's "pirates infesting the North Sea,") in these terms:—

"We desire you to order such as you think fit to try to seize upon, and bring her away; or if that cannot be, then to burn or make her unserviceable."—*Interregnum Papers*, No. 94, p. 110.

Accordingly, in May, 1649, the *Antelope* was destroyed off Helvoetsluys by a boat party, formed of some of the crew of the *Happy Entrance*, and under the command of Lieutenant Stephen Rose. A gold medal of the value of forty shillings was given to Rose; and two of his subordinates, James Parker and Thomas Tulley, each received a medal worth twenty shillings, besides rewards in money.

The following passages bearing on this subject, taken from Mrs. Green's *Calendar*, seem to demand reproduction in the CHRONICLE as a sequel to my former article:—

"June 26th, 1649.—Orders of the Council of State.—The Admiralty Committee to consider what encouragement to give to Capts. Badiley and Young, and the men that destroyed the Antelope.—Instructions to be given to Sir Oliver Fleming to go to the Dutch Ambassador, and inform him of the destruction of the Antelope, at Helvoetsluys, and of the care taken that no harm should be done to the town.—*Interregnum* 62, p. 472." —*Calendar*, p. 206.

"October 27th, 1649.—Admiralty Committee's Proceedings. —Report to the Council of State, on the petition of Lieut. Stephen Rose and the rest of the seamen of the Happy Entrance, that for destroying the Antelope, Lieut. Rose deserves a gratuity of £50, whereof 40*s*. is to be in a gold medal; Jas. Parker, a volunteer, and Thos. Tulley, corporal, £10, 20*s*. to be in a gold medal; and each of the mariners £5; to be paid by the collectors for prize goods, out of the tenths of the prizes, which, by an order of the Council of State of June last, were to be reserved, to the sum of £1,000, to be disposed of in medals or rewards to such mariners as have been active in the service of the State.—*Interregnum* 123, p. 127."—*Calendar*, p. 367.

"October 29th, 1649.—Order of the Council of State, that Lieut. Stephen Rose, who commanded the men that destroyed

the Antelope, have a gratuity of £50, whereof 40*s.* is to be in a gold medal; Jas. Parker, volunteer, and Thos. Tulley, corporal £10 each, 20*s.* in a medal; Thos. Young, Thos. Cowdery, Rich. Knight, Barthol. Ferdinando, Jno. Mumford, Edw. Giffin, Thos. Sexton, Robt. Garret, Robt. Bennet, £5 each; payable out of the tenths, and a warrant to be issued to the collectors of prize goods to pay the money, and provide the medals.—*Interregnum* 63, p. 191."—*Calendar*, p. 368.

"Warrant, dated 29th October, 1649, from the Prize Collectors to Lieut. Stephen Rose and four others, for £125, for destroying the Antelope.—*Interregnum* 109, 41."—*Calendar*, p. 591.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

8th March, 1876.

VIII.

MICHEL V., SURNAMED "THE BRAVE," PRINCE OF WALLACHIA. 1593—1601.

THE Pulszki collection of coins, purchased by the British Museum, contains a gold medal of the lozenge form, called by the Germans "klippe," and struck by Michel, surnamed "the Brave," Prince of Wallachia.

This unique piece is of the utmost interest to those who study the history—unfortunately scarcely known, if at all, in Western Europe—of a country which has nevertheless a claim to notice on account of the important part it has played in the politics of Eastern Europe. Though this has too often been but a passive part, there have been moments in the history of the country which could afford to that of humanity in general, some of its most brilliant pages. It is owing to the impulsive nature of the people in question (a characteristic which they share with the whole Latin race, and which they possess, perhaps, to a higher degree than any other portion of it), and also to the overpowering forces they have had throughout to contend with, on account of their peculiar ethnographical position, that these pages are few and far between.

Their history is not one of steady and stubborn progress like that of the Germanic races, but rather one of impulsive, enthusiastic, brilliant, but short-lasting struggles, followed immediately by years, and even centuries, of complete prostration, as if all vital energy had

been expended in each effort, completely crushed under the effects of despondency for lack of perseverance.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the annals of this people should not be completely ignored by those who study history with care, and who prefer to a simple narrative of intrigues between individual kings and governments the looking into the causes, of whatever nature they may have been, that have influenced the character of nations and the history of humanity. There is no doubt that the little country to which the medal refers us has suffered much throughout both ancient, mediæval, and modern times, that it was stunted in its development; but it should not be forgotten that it has often served as a scapegoat to avert evils from many other more favoured nations, giving them thus more leisure and better opportunities for strengthening and enlightening themselves.

It must not be thought that the student of history has himself to blame for being comparatively ignorant respecting this country. The sources whence he might gather his information are very uncertain, very few, and very difficult to obtain. Enough has been said to show that any page in the history of this country will tell of a nation either in hard struggle for independence, or under extreme oppression. Such a state of things is evidently incompatible with social progress of any kind. The consequence is the people have never attained even that simple degree of true civilization which would be necessary to endow them with a first-rate historian, or with those monuments which other nations possess, and are proud of, as telling their tale to the world at large. The little known both of Wallachia and Moldavia is chiefly handed down by tradition. This renders still more precious the few clumsy and incomplete relics

transmitted to us in the way of here and there a few coins struck with little art, to commemorate rare intervals of dearly-bought freedom; here and there a few parchments that have escaped the ravages of time, or of fire, and which most of them attest what a victim these countries have been to foreign intrigue, and how coveted their possession has been by their powerful neighbours.

The country now known as Wallachia, and forming with Moldavia, and with part of Bassarabia, the principality which received in 1866 the name of Roumania, is a comparatively small portion of the vast territory on the north of the Danube, known anciently under the name of Dacia. The history of its conquest by Trajan, and colonization by the Romans, is well known to all. The ancient Dacians, a tribe of the Getæ, are still to be found in the Carpathian mountains, and often strike the traveller by the resemblance they bear in outward appearance to their ancestors, depicted on the spiral bas-reliefs which adorn the column whose ruin now forms the most conspicuous picture in Trajan's forum at Rome. The conquering Roman race prevailed, however, and hence the great mass of the inhabitants now spread over the various provinces which once formed Dacia, are of Latin race; their language is the nearest approach to that of their forefathers—unless, indeed, the kindred Rumansch of the valleys of the Grisons, which is said to resemble Roumanian, may claim a closer relationship.

During the great struggles in the middle ages of the powerful races that dismembered the vast remains of the Roman Eastern as well as Western Empire, the Romans in Dacia found their country torn asunder by barbarians. They saw their kinsmen of Transylvania submit to the

fierce Magyars, and become for centuries like themselves —an apple of discord between Magyar and Pole. Wallachia and Moldavia soon had to succumb, after many a fruitless struggle, to the overpowering force of the Turks, and their princes had to acknowledge themselves the vassals of the Sultans. Bannat was soon wrested away from Dacia, Bassarabia fell to Russia; and the dismemberment became complete when, a century ago, the Austrians shamefully bribed the Turks into the cession of the portion of Moldavia known as Bucovina.

From what has been said, it follows that from the period at which this dismemberment of Dacia began, it has ever been the dream of Wallachian and Moldavian princes to shake off the foreign yoke, rescue the lost provinces from the hands of their invaders, and restore the country to its former splendour, by uniting under one sceptre the scattered members of the Latin race in the East, in order to sustain thus better their independence against Turk, Slave, Hungarian, or Pole.

Indeed, this dream of reuniting Dacia under one sceptre has also been that of the Hungarian kings and rulers, but from very different motives—those of conquest. They seem long to have been ambitious of the title of **REX DACIÆ.** Andrew Bathori, Gabriel Bathori, and Betlen Gabor claimed this title from the Sultan, we are told by a Wallachian historian, Bălcescu; but we have failed to find any coins of these princes bearing that inscription. As for the less general title of **PRINCEPS.MOLDAVIÆ. ET . VALACHIÆ . TRANSALPINÆ**, many Hungarian princes of Transylvania took it. Even during Michel the Brave's reign, Sigismund Bathori, the Prince of Transylvania, struck coins, of which there is a specimen in the Museum, bearing this inscription. These

coins were struck under circumstances which will be explained hereafter.

The history of Wallachia and Moldavia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be said to consist of a long struggle between Latin and Magyar, as to who should possess the different provinces which had formed Trajan's Dacia. The Latin may be said to have acted on the defensive, for he was striving for his liberty, and the Magyar may be considered as the aggressor. The struggle was a long one, and has not yet ceased, as may be seen by the annexation of Bucovina to Austro-Hungary, not to speak of the actual views on the possession of Roumania entertained by Austro-Hungarian politicians.

In this brief and rough outline of the history of Wallachia and Moldavia, we may simply mention three princes, besides Michel the Brave, who have fought for the realizing of this noble idea of the restoration of Dacia, and whose efforts have not been without some success.

The first is Mircea I. of Wallachia, called the Veteran (1389—1419), who did more by his prudence and sense of dignity than many others achieved by arms.

Secondly, Vlad IV. (Tsepesh, or the impaler), who reigned twice, 1456—1462 and 1477—1479, of Wallachia, noted for his atrocious cruelties to the Turkish prisoners he made in his successful wars against them.

Thirdly, Stephen of Moldavia, surnamed "the Great" (1457—1504), who may be said to have been the most successful for any length of time. His victories against the Poles obtained him his surname.

These three princes are among the few who have struck coins in the country. Specimens of them are in the possession of Mr. Demetrius Stourdza, who has worked very conscientiously to obtain all the documents he could with

regard to Roumanian history. His collection of national coins is almost complete. He has just published a description, with plates, of all the cognate coins of Wallachia and Moldavia.

Lastly we come to Michel of Wallachia, surnamed "the Brave," son of Peter the Palatine, whose medal in the British Museum has suggested the following rapid sketch of his brief but glorious reign from 1593 to 1601.

During the reign of his predecessor Alexander, Michel had distinguished himself very much as ban of Craiova. It must be known that the province or bannat of Craiova, now called "little Wallachia," and forming the smaller western half of the country, was a feudal dependency of the Wallachian princes, its bans doing homage to them as to superior lords.

This fame excited the jealousy of Alexander, who had Michel seized and put into prison. Michel would have lost his life, had not the executioner sent to behead him been overawed by the majesty of his look, which caused him to drop his axe to the ground. Michel fled to Transylvania, thence to Constantinople, where, gaining the confidence of the Turks, he was appointed Prince of Wallachia, after the bow-stringing of Alexander.

As soon as he came to the throne, Michel turned his arms against the Turks and Tartars, who were overrunning the whole country, plundering the population and extorting money in every way. A magnificent opportunity was offered him by the Prince of Transylvania's hostile preparations against the Turks, by the miserable condition the empire was plunged in by the reign of the dissolute Sultan Murád III., who died in January, 1595, at a most critical time, when the Ottoman empire was attacked on all sides by the rebel Christians, stimulated by a pre-

valent belief at the time that the last days of the Ottoman empire were at hand. The death of Murád left the throne to Mehemet III., a no less dissolute and cruel monarch. An alliance was signed on November 5, 1594, between Michel, Sigismund Bathori, and Aaron, Prince of Moldavia, against the Ottoman empire.

The first act of aggression against the Turks is far from creditable to Michel, and speaks little for the civilization and morality of the time. Under pretence of paying the tribute due to the Turks, he assembled a large number of them in a khan, or inn, at Bucharest, and had them destroyed by sword and flame. This was followed on the 15th of November by a general massacre of the Turks. The next year opened with a great victory gained by Michel over his enemies on the ice of the frozen Danube, after having seized all the Turkish forts on the banks of the river.

The consequence of this was the sending of a great army of Turks into Wallachia.

Sigismund Bathori, seeing Michel pressed hard, saw here an opportunity of satisfying his ambitious designs over Wallachia and Moldavia. He drove Aaron from the throne of Moldavia, and in his place established his vassal Stephan Rezvan. He began to assume an air of protection, and the title of **WOIWODA MOLDAVIÆ ET VALACHIÆ.** In the following year, 1596, he began to strike silver and gold coins, which bear this title in addition to that of **PRINCEPS TRANSYLVANIÆ.** Thalers and groschens of this description were struck in 1596 and 1597. A gold nine-ducat piece, dated 1598, in the Vienna collection, also bears the same inscription. The British Museum also possesses a gold coin of Sigismund's, struck in the same year, bearing the inscription

SIGIS . D . G . TRA . MOL . WA . T . S . R . I . P. A gold coin, struck in 1599 by his brother Andreas Bathori, the cardinal, also in the Museum, bears the inscription—**ANDREAS . MISER . DIV . CARDINALIS . TR . ET . VAL.**

Michel's victorious career was thus checked by Sigismund's ambition. Policy, however, forced him to send a deputation to Sigismund, and renew the treaty against the Turks, acknowledging the overlordship of Bathori, without prejudice, however, to his own independence, providing he only obtained aid and protection. He meant undoubtedly to place himself in very much the same position as the dukes of Normandy were in with regard to the kings of France at the time of the Conquest. But Michel's deputation consisted unfortunately of Wallachian nobles jealous of Michel's power, and anxious to undermine him in the public estimation. They completely perverted their mission, and offered Bathori an entire submission, preferring thus the sacrifice of their country's interests to their own ambition. Michel, in a strait, was obliged for the present to submit to this shameful treaty, but he vowed an enmity to Bathori and to his family which wellnigh proved the ruin of that name. The fact of this acknowledgment of Sigismund's superiority explains, again, the inscription on the coins we have described.

In the meanwhile the Turks were preparing to cross the Danube at Nicopolis, under the command of Ferhad Pasha. Michel, with a small army of 5,000 men, consisting of his own forces and a contingent sent by Bathori from Transylvania, crossed the river himself as the Turks were on the point of doing so, and gained a decisive victory (June 10, 1595).

This battle, the first great one fought by Michel, and called the battle of Nicopolis, is not so important as some historians have made it. Ferhad Pasha's unpopularity at Constantinople may have partly been the cause of exaggerations with regard to his defeat. There was a very strong party there at the time striving to undermine him, in order to raise his rival, Sinan Pasha, in his place. This defeat afforded an excellent opportunity for the urging of Sinan's claims; it was treated as a great national disaster, and on July 17, 1595, the new Vizir was appointed. He was then a veteran soldier eighty-three years of age, who had taken part at the famous siege of Vienna by the Sultan Suleiman. The army with which he invaded Wallachia is estimated at 180,000 men by Walther, a contemporary historian living at Constantinople at the time. This host, with Sinan Pasha at its head, crossed the Danube at Rustchuk. Never was the country so threatened since the days when Mehemet II. invaded Wallachia. Michel hastened to oppose Sinan Pasha, who by rapid marches was pushing onwards to Bucarest, the new capital of the princes of Wallachia. The place of meeting was half-way between Bucarest and the Danube, in a kind of defile formed by the little river Néjlov, not far from the village of Călugăreniĭ, which has given its name to the battle which ensued. This battle, in which Michel displayed the talent of a great general and the valour of a good soldier, is certainly the most brilliant contest in the annals of Wallachian history. It may be compared, with regard to the tactics employed and to the great disparity of the two forces engaged, to the battle of Thermopylæ, in ancient history. There is, however, one point which reminds us of Marathon, for just as in that battle one of the wings of the Persian

army was commanded by Hippias, in the same way one of the portions of the Turkish force was led on by one of Michel's predecessors on the throne of Wallachia —Michel IV. A revolution, brought about by his abuses and extortions, had driven the latter from the country, and had compelled him to seek refuge at Constantinople. There he embraced Mahomedanism, and as the Vizir was now resolved on transforming the country into a Turkish province, he was hoping to regain his throne by reigning as a Pasha. Michel engaged Sinan Pasha with a comparatively small army of 16,000 men, most of whom were Transylvanians, forming Bathori's contingent. The battle was fought on August 13, 1595, and the position held by the Christians secured a glorious victory. The Turks were repulsed, and after a hard struggle for the possession of the bridge near the Néjlov, compelled to fly in all directions. Sinan Pasha himself was flung off the bridge, and only just escaped with his life.

No monument is left to commemorate this great victory. The monolith cross, known as the cross of Călugărenii, which in the minds of the native peasantry is associated with the battle, has lately been found to be ninety years posterior to its date. The inscription, which is in Roumanian, but in Slavonic characters (as all inscriptions are in the country, of any but very recent date), is very much defaced. It has, however, been read, and is found merely to commemorate the construction of a bridge over the Néjlov, by Prince Serban Cantacuzene, probably over the very spot where the old bridge stood, and where the critical portion of the day was contested.

The victory of Călugărenii, though a great and glorious one for Michel, was far from being a decisive one. The Turks were not disposed to loose their hold so easily; fresh reinforcements came pouring into the plains of

Wallachia. Michel, unable to resist, retreated towards the Carpathians, leaving Bucarest a prey to the Turks, who massacred the inhabitants. The Christian metropolitan church was turned into a mosque, all the other churches were pillaged, and for once in the history of the country did Bucarest become a Mussulman town. Sinan Pasha pursued Michel northward to the walls of Tergoviste, the capital of the former princes of Wallachia, a town whose ruins and numerous churches even to this day attest of its ancient importance. Here Michel resolved to attempt the fortune of a battle, and he obtained a decisive victory, which, followed up by repeated other victories against the Turks all along the banks of the Danube, freed the country from its tyrants for the remaining short period of Michel's reign. In this battle of Tergoviste, perished also the apostate Prince Michel.

In 1598 Sigismund at last ceded Transylvania to the Emperor Rudolph, in exchange for more remote Austrian possessions. In this manner Michel and Rudolph were brought in close contact. The Emperor, to whose ears frequent reports of Michel's victories had come, and who saw what use the alliance of such a powerful neighbour would be, sought at once his friendship; he recognized the principality of Wallachia as a free state, whose throne was hereditary in Michel's family. It was probably at this period that he gave him the title of "CONSILIARIUS PERPETUUS SACRATISSIMÆ CÆSARIÆ REGIÆQUE MAJESTATIS," which we see on the medal which has suggested this outline of his life.

Sigismund Bathori, however, very soon repented the cession he had made, and returned once more to cede his principality in 1599 to his kinsman, the Cardinal Andreas Bathori. This unprincipled prince first made an alliance

with Michel against the Turks, but fearing Michel, who was very popular in Transylvania, whereas he himself was unpopular, and fearing lest the Emperor should seize upon his principality, and deliver it over to Michel to hold as a fief of the empire, he resolved at once to undermine the Prince of Wallachia by reconciling himself with the Turks. In spite of the treaty with Michel, he opened secret negociations with the Turks. Michel, however, got knowledge of this treachery, and prepared himself for any emergency. Seconded by Rudolph, who preferred having Michel in Transylvania to any of the Bathori family, and also by the Cardinal's own unpopularity in Transylvania, Michel crossed the Carpathians with great celerity, and defeated Andreas Bathori on October 28, 1599, near Hermanstadt. The Cardinal fled, and was soon killed by some Saxon peasants in Transylvania, for which act the Pope, Clement VIII., excommunicated the Saxon settlements in that country. This victory brought the whole of Transylvania under Michel's subjection. Thus for the time this important Latin country became united to the Wallachian crown.

This great conquest was followed up in the next year by that of Moldavia. The opportunity was afforded by Sigismund Bathori resolving to seize once more upon his old principality of Transylvania, which was now ruled by Michel as a fief of the empire. He determined to make the attempt by seeking the aid of the Prince of Moldavia, Jeremias Movila, who owed his position entirely to the Bathori family. Leaving Transylvania, Michel invaded Moldavia, and gained a decisive victory over the united forces of Sigismund Bathori and Movila, which blasted entirely the hopes of the Bathoris. Moldavia fell into the power of Michel, who also held it as a dependency of the empire. Thus at this period of this glorious reign,

Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania were in the hands of Michel—the dream of the eastern Latins was realized for one short moment; but this noble edifice was soon destined to crumble, intrigue and jealousy were fast sapping its foundations, both from within and from without.

Michel's first losses must be ascribed to the jealousy of Basta, the imperial general, whom Rudolf had sent to Transylvania with the imperial forces. He felt that Michel was his rival in that province, and after intriguing against him with Sigismund Bathori, with Jeremias Movila, and with John Zamoïski, the Hatman of the Poles, he at last openly declared himself his enemy. A formidable plot was made thus against Michel, who, deserted by the traitor Basta, was defeated at Mirisla on the 18th of September, and driven out of Transylvania. The year closed with his defeat by Zamoïski, who invaded Moldavia and Wallachia, restoring Jeremias Movila on the throne of Moldavia, and recognizing his brother, Simeon Movila, as Prince of Moldavia, in the place of Michel, who fled to Vienna to seek the aid of the Emperor. Michel met the Emperor Rudolf at Prague on the 23rd of March, 1601.

We must here interrupt the narrative of Michel's reign, fast drawing to a close, for it is just before his reverses began that the medal we have alluded to was struck, and it is during this visit to Prague that the artist Egidius Sadeler engraved the most authenticated portrait of the hero of Wallachia which has been handed down to us. This would therefore be the place to describe the medal, and also to give an idea of Michel's outward appearance, from the authorities we are able to get.

The medal, therefore, now forming part of the collection in the British Museum, was struck probably just after the conquest of Transylvania was completed by the

victory over Andreas Bathori, and before the conquest of Moldavia, as no mention of Moldavia is made on the inscription: probably between January and March, 1600. It may have been struck in Transylvania, as it bears a great resemblance in style to the gold coins of the Transylvanian Bathori princes.

It is a unique gold piece of ten ducats weight, lozenge in shape, measuring 2.3 inches, and weighing 536 grains.

The stamp on the medal is circular, as is usual in this kind of piece. It may be described thus:—

Obv.—**MICHA EL : VAL : TRANS : VAIW : S : C : RÆ : M : CONS : PER :**
(Michael Valuchiæ Transalpinæ Vaiwoda, Sacratissimæ Cæsariæ regiæ Majestatis consiliarius perpetuus). Bust facing towards left, in plumed cap and mantle.

Rev.—**TRASYL : LOCVM : T : CIS : TRAN : PAR : EI : SVP : EXER : G : CAP ∽**
(In centre) **: A : D : VIGILAN | TIA : VIRTV | TE : ET : ARMI | S : VICTORI | AM : NACT | ∽VS ∽ | 1600.**
Transylvaniam locum tenens, Cis Transylvaniam, partes que ejusdem supremus exercitus generalis capitaneus—
Vigilantia, virtute et armis victoriam nactus (A.D. 1600), Pl. VI. fig. 3.

The effigy on the medal is an undoubtedly good likeness; it is similar to that of the gold coin in the Vienna collection. This coin varies very slightly from the medal in stamp, and is circular in form. One can even to this day identify the heavy brow and high cheek bones represented on the medal, for the skull of Michel, still preserved in the Wallachian monastery of "monastirea Délului," near Tergoviste, where his head was buried on being brought by his soldiers from the plain of Thorda, still strikes one by those very same characteristics.

A good authentic likeness of Michel is left us in the engraving by Egidius Sadeler, to which we have alluded already. This artist was born at Antwerp in 1570, at the period when engraving was an art which flourished especially in Holland. He came to Prague, where he soon became very famous. He has left us portraits of Sigismund Bathori, and of Sigismund III., King of Poland, which are in great renown. His portrait of Michel, whom he saw during this very visit to Prague, may be relied on as a good likeness. It represents the Wallachian hero, bearded, with a mantle and plumed cap, similar to the one on the medal. The expression is melancholy, but firm. Around the portrait is the inscription:—

"Michael Vaivoda Valachiæ Transalpinæ, utraque fortuna insignis et in utraque eadem virtute—ÆT: XLIII."

Beneath the portrait:—

"Cum privil: S. Cæs: M^tis"

And still lower:—

"Tanti facit nomen Christi, Majestatem Cæsaris, Remp: Christianam et ecclesiæ sub Pont: Max: Concordiam: Sui prodigus publicæ devotus saluti: etiam si dira omnia et diri adversarentur. Ficta obruens factis—

Lower still:—

"S. Cæs. M^tis Sculptor Aeg: Sedeler ad vivum delineavit et D.D. Pragæ M.DC.I."

This inscription is sufficient to prove how welcomed he was by the Emperor at Prague, who gave him money and troops for the recovery of Transylvania from Sigismund. Michel and the imperial general Basta, who had betrayed

him before, soon drove Sigismund away; but Basta's ambition of becoming Prince of Transylvania sealed Michel's fate. He accused him to Rudolph of treating with the Turks, and soon after had him assassinated in his tent at Thorda, on the 17th of August, 1601, at the very moment when he was meditating the recovery of Moldavia.

Thus perished treacherously the bravest warrior who ever fought for the independence of Wallachia. His death was a signal of collapse for the country, which was dismembered as before. If Michel had not had to do with men like Sigismund Bathori, Andreas Bathori, and Basta, he would have raised his country to a height from whence it would, perhaps, never have fallen, and consolidated a powerful kingdom which would have kept in check the ambitions of the surrounding empires.

As it is, that glorious but fruitless effort left the country in despondency. It was the last serious struggle for independence, followed by the torpor in which it is plunged to this day, through constant oppression and misfortunes, which it has silently borne. Nor the shameful cession of one of its finest provinces to Austria in 1775, nor the beheading by the Turks of the true patriot, Prince Gregory Ghica, for refusing to acquiesce in that cession, nor all the horrors undergone in the reign of the Phanariot Greek princes, who ofttimes farmed the country from their palaces on the Bosphorus, have stung it into action. May the memory of deeds like those recorded on the medal of Michel, and the step lately taken by the union of Moldavia with Wallachia, towards the realizing of Michel's object, prompt the country to that life and activity without which no prosperity is possible.

DEMETRIUS ION GHICA.

IX.

JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED IN 1864.

§ VIII. MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS (*continued*).

II. NEW TESTAMENT.

I. Money in general; II. Tribute [money]; III. Piece of money (στατήρ); IV. Penny (δηνάριον); V. Piece of silver (δραχμή, ἀργύριον); VI. Farthing (ἀσσάριον, κοδράντης); VII. Mite (λεπτόν); VIII. Money of account; IX. Money-changers; X. Treasury or Treasure.

I. *Money in general*:—

The general expression for *silver* [money] in the New Testament is ἄργυρος, *argentum* (Matt. x. 9; James v. 3), and ἀργύριον, *argentum* (Acts iii. 6, xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18).

Money is rendered as follows:—

1. Ἀργύριον, *pecunia* (Matt. xxv. 18, 27, xxviii. 12 [ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ, "large money"], 15; Mark xiv. 11; Luke ix. 3, xix. 15, 23, xxii. 5; Acts vii. 16 [τιμῆς ἀργύριον, "a sum of money," *argentum*]; *pecunia*, viii. 20. In Matt. xxvi. 9, the phrase is πολλοῦ [*sc.* ἀργύριου] "much [money]," *multo* [*argento*]).

2. Χαλκός, *aes* (Mark vi. 8, xii. 41).[1]

3. Χρῆμα, *pretium* (Acts iv. 37; *pecunia*, viii. 18, 20, xxiv. 26); (cf. meaning "silver," Acts viii. 20).

4. Κέρμα,[2] *aes* (John ii. 15).

Gold [money] as follows:—

1. Χρυσός, *aurum* (Matt. x. 9; James v. 3).

2. Χρυσίον, *aurum* (Acts iii. 6; xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18).

Brass [money] as follows:—

Χαλκός, *pecunia* (Matt. x. 9).

II. *Tribute* [*money*]:—

This expression is used in the Authorised Version of the New Testament as the translation of two different terms, (1) *the sacred tribute*, and (2) *the civil tribute*.

1. *The sacred tribute* (τὰ δίδραχμα, *didrachma*, Matt. xvii. 24).

The sacred tribute or payment of the "atonement money" was half a shekel (Exod. xxx. 13, 16), and was originally levied on every male of twenty years old and above, when the Israelites were first numbered.[3] In the reign of Joash the same sum was demanded for the repair of the Temple (2 Chron. xxiv. 4—14). After the return from the Captivity, the annual payment "for the service

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[1] St. Luke in the parallel passage (xxi. 1) has τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν (their gifts). In ver. 4 εἰς τὰ δῶρα seems to mean the Treasury itself [see under § X. Treasury]. A coin attributed to Agrippa II. has the inscription ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 120; § I., § III., *note* 167), and it also occurs on some coins of Antioch ("Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 121). See under VI. Farthing (κοδράντης).

[2] See under IX. Money-changers. 3. Κερματιστής.

[3] According to Rabbinic rules (Mishna, "Shekalim I.") it was proclaimed on the 1st of Adar, began to be collected on the 15th, and was due at latest on the 1st of Nisan (Rev. E. H. Plumptre, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Tribute).

of the house of God" was *one-third of the shekel*,[4] and was voluntarily contributed (Neh. x. 32).

The amount of tribute was again restored to the *half-shekel*, which the Jews, when dispersed throughout the world, continued to pay towards the Temple.[5]

It is to this tribute that St. Matthew (xvii. 24, 25) refers—"And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute [money] (τὰ δίδραχμα) came to Peter and said, Doth not your master pay tribute (τὰ δίδραχμα)? He saith, Yes."

I have already pointed out in an earlier portion of this section[6] that the term "didrachm" was probably adopted as the common name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel, and I have now to add that Josephus, in the passage above referred to, probably employs the term τὸ δίδραχμον as St. Matthew does τὰ δίδραχμα to express the *tax* and not the *payment*, and that had he been speaking of the actual money to be paid he would have written τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου, as may be found in

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[4] See under OLD TESTAMENT, VII. Divisions of the Shekel.

[5] Τό τε δίδραχμον τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν, ὃ ἑκαστοῖς πατριον, ταύτῃ κατετίθεντο. Jos. "Antiq." xviii. 9, 1. Pompey, as stated elsewhere (§ VI. *note* 3), did not plunder the temple at Jerusalem, but Crassus did not hesitate to despoil it of all its treasures (Jos. "Antiq." xiv. 7, 1), amounting to several thousand talents. That there was so much wealth accumulated is not surprising, considering that all Jews contributed (Jos. "Antiq." xiv. 7, 2). Indeed the amount of gold annually carried out of Italy and the provinces in the name of the Jews led to the interference of Flaccus, who prohibited its exportation from Asia ("aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italiâ, et ex omnibus provinciis, Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret." Cic. "In Flacc." 28), thereby showing that these religious offerings actually affected the markets of the world (Milman, "Hist. of the Jews," vol. ii. p. 50; Middleton, "Life of Cicero," p. 83).

[6] See under OLD TESTAMENT, VIII.

Exod. xxx. 13. In another passage Josephus describes the shekel as equal to four Attic drachms,[7] i.e. current Attic drachms equal to *denarii*, each of which drachm was equivalent to the quarter of a shekel, and he may therefore have employed the word δίδραχμον to represent δυὸ δραχμαί, or half a shekel. There are pieces of Nero struck at Ephesus a little earlier than the time of Josephus, upon which may be seen the word ΔΡΑΧΜΗ, and weighing 56 grains, the exact weight of the Roman *denarius*, and also others with ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ, weighing 113 grains, its double.[8]

St. Matthew then continues (vers. 25, 26), "And when he [Peter] was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute (τέλη ἢ κῆνσον; *tributum aut censum*)? of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free."

The τέλος was a tax collected by the publicans (τελῶναι) on goods at the bridges, gates, harbours, etc. It answers to the Latin *vectigal*. The term also occurs in Romans xiii. 7. Various passages in the New Testament show how odious the collectors of these taxes were to the Jews.

The κῆνσος (Lat. *census*) was a poll-tax levied on estates

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[7] Ὁ δὲ σικλὸς, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὤν, Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δράχμας τέσσαρας. "Antiq." iii. 8, 2.

[8] Mommsen, "La Monnaie Romaine," ed. Blacas and de Witte, vol. iii. p. 307. The word ΔΡΑΧΜΑ occurs on copper coins of Byzantium (Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 27), and ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ on copper autonomous coins of Rhodes as well as on large brass coins of Tiberius, Nerva, and Trajan struck in the same island (Eckhel, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 604, 605; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 235, 239).

and persons, and paid to the Roman emperor, to which I shall presently allude.

St. Matthew concludes (ver. 27), "Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money (στατῆρα, *staterem*): that take, and give unto them, for me and thee."

The *stater* here mentioned was an Attic tetradrachm, and at that time equal to a shekel or Hebrew didrachm. I shall more fully speak of it under III. "*Piece of Money.*"

Many commentators, both ancient and modern—and among them Augustine, Origen, and Jerome,—have entirely missed the meaning of this miracle by interpreting the payment as a *civil* one,[9] which it certainly was not. That it was the *sacred tribute* is plain from our Lord's reason for exemption—"of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of *their own children* or of strangers?" and further from his reason for payment, "lest we should offend them," which shows that the Jews *willingly* paid the tribute; indeed, it was not enforced by law, even from the earliest times, being in this respect unlike the civil tax, on the description of which I am now about to enter.

2. *The civil tribute* (κῆνσον, *censum*, Matt. xxii. 17; τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου; *numisma census*, Matt. xxii. 19; κῆνσον, *tributum*, Mark xii. 14; φόρον, *tributum*, Luke xx. 22; φόρους, *tributa*, Luke xxiii. 2).

The civil tribute, which was a tax paid to the Roman emperor, was doubtless established when Judæa became a

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[9] Alford, "Greek Test. in loc." For full particulars of this miracle see Trench, "Notes on the Miracles," p. 379, 8th ed. 1865.

Roman province. The sum paid annually is not known, but after the capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple, Vespasian ordered the Jews, in whatever country they might be, to pay the sum of *two drachmæ* to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as they had previously paid to the temple at Jerusalem.[10] Under Domitian the tax was enforced with the utmost severity,[11] but upon the accession of Nerva the tribute was abolished. Of this fact numismatic records are extant. On a large brass coin of this emperor may be found the legend **FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA.**[12] After the revolt of Bar-cochab Hadrian renewed the tax and made it very heavy,[13] and even as late as the reign of Alexander Severus (A.D. 226) the Jews continued to pay the *didrachm.*[14]

This civil tribute was paid in *denarii.* "Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a *penny*" (*δηνάριον*, Matt. xxii. 19), and more clearly in St. Mark (xii. 15) and St. Luke (xx. 24), "Shew me a *penny* (*δηνάριον*)."

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[10] *Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδήποτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νέων συνετέλουν.* Jos. "Bell. Jud." vii. 6, 6.—*Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν.* Dion. Cass. lxvi. 7.

[11] "Judaicus fiscus *acerbissime* actus est." Suet., "Dom." 12.

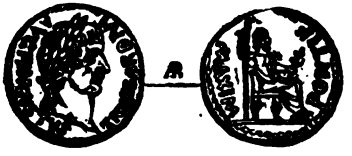
[12] The Rev. John Kenrick ("Theological Review" No. xxi., April, 1868, p. 256, *note*) says "The *Calumnia* here acknowledged answers to the *συκοφαντία* (false accusation) which Zacchæus (Luke xix. 8) confesses, we presume, as practised by his subordinates."

[13] *Ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας.* Appian, "Syr." 50. See my note on this passage ("Jew. Coinage," p. 238, *note* 3).

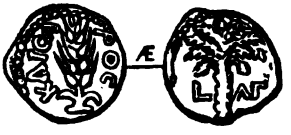
[14] *Καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίων δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς* (sc. *Ῥωμαίοις*) *τελούντων.* Origen, "Letter to Africanus," ed. de la Rue, vol. i. p. 28.

"And He saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto Him, Cæsar's. Then saith He unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things which are God's" (Matt. xxii. 20, 21; Mark xii. 16, 17; cf. Luke xx. 24, 25).

The title of Cæsar was common to all the coins of the



Roman emperors, and the name of Tiberius, who was the Cæsar alluded to in the above-quoted passage, is abbreviated on the coins **TI.**, whilst the name **CAESAR** is at length. The coin here represented is a specimen of the actual type that was shown to our Lord. The reply, "they say unto him, Cæsar's" (Λέγουσιν ἀυτῷ **ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ**)



may also be illustrated by a small brass issued under the procurators Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus, circulating in Judæa at this time, on which is simply the legend **ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ.**[15]

This tribute to the Roman emperors was from the first objected to by the Jews, and was the primary cause of

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[15] See § IV. Coins Struck under the Procurators. For further information about the *denarius* see later under IV. Penny.

the revolt under Judas the Galilæan,[16] called also by Josephus, Judas the Gaulonite.[17]

Yet, in spite of our Lord's express statement, the Jews *falsely* accused him to Pilate of "forbidding to give tribute (φόρους) to Cæsar," (Luke xxiii. 2).

The κῆνσος, as I have above stated, was the poll-tax. Indeed, in one MS. the passage in St. Mark (xii. 15) has ἐπικεφάλαιον [18] for κῆνσον.

The φόρος was a tribute levied for state purposes. In the passages above quoted the φόρος and κῆνσος are equivalent. The φόρος, however, more correctly represents the tribute levied under the Syrian kings (1 Maccab. x. 29, 30), though in one passage the word τέλος is employed (1 Maccab. xi. 35). It was, however, distinct from τέλος, which as shown above was the tax on goods, etc., a kind of *octroi*, and is elsewhere properly distinguished—τὸν φόρον, τὸ τέλος (Rom. xiii. 7).[19]

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[16] ὁ Γαλιλαῖος. Acts v. 35; Jos. "Antiq." xviii. 1, 6; xx. 5, 2; "Bell. Jud." ii. 8, 1.

[17] Γαυλανίτης ἀνήρ. "Antiq." xviii. 1, 1.

[18] The word κεφάλαιον, meaning a sum of money, occurs in Acts xxii. 28, "With a great sum (πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου) obtained I this freedom." It means, in classical authors, the capital as opposed to interest or income (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.* κεφάλαιος), and in this latter sense may be found in the LXX. (Lev. vi. 5; Numb. v. 7; A. V. "principal.')

[19] The words φορά and φόρος, signifying that which was brought in as rent or tribute, are employed by Thucydides (i. 96; cf. ii. 13) for the tribute of the islanders and other Greeks to Athens. The Rev. C. Bigg, in his edition of Thucydides (i. 96. Rivingtons, 1868) says: "When the Athenian alliance was revived after B.C. 377, the contributions of the confederates were called σύνταξις, not φόρος—the word had become so odious from the association of suffering and degradation which had grown up around it." Mr. Bigg has also informed me that "φορά is a general word which would embrace φόρος, the first being used in the broader signification of payment, the latter more commonly in the narrower sense of tribute; but in

Under the Syrian kings the Jews were subject to another tax called "crown-tax" (τὸν στέφανον ὃν ὀφείλετε, 1 Maccab. x. 29; cf. xi. 35, xiii. 37; 2 Maccab. xiv. 4). It was remitted with other taxes by Antiochus the Great.[20]

III. *A piece of money* (στατήρ, *stater*, Matt. xvii. 27).

The word *stater*, from ἵστημι, means a coin of a certain weight, and hence a standard (comp. *shekel* and *pondo*), and was a term applied by the Greeks to coins of gold, electrum, and silver. The principal earlier gold staters were those of Crœsus (Κροίσειοι), the Persian Darics (στατῆρες Δαρεικοί, Δαρεικοί—see above under B. COINED MONEY IN OLD TESTAMENT), and those of Athens. The first and second appear always to have been didrachms of the Perso-Euboic, and the third a didrachm of the Attic talent. The staters of Crœsus, which were the earliest gold coins that came to Greece,[21] have about the same weight as the darics, i.e. 128 grains troy, which weight is

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many passages it is difficult to draw any distinction between the two terms." The employment of the new word συντάξεις instead of the unpopular term φόρους, is expressly ascribed to Callistratus, the celebrated orator, B.C. 378 (Harpoc. *s. v.*; Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. ix. p. 327).

[20] Στεφανίτης φόρος. Jos. "Antiq." xii. 3, 3. The "chief collector of tribute" in Palestine was called ἄρχων τῆς φορολογίας (1 Maccab. i. 29).

[21] "Herod." i. 54. Mr. B. V. Head, in his excellent and interesting "Metrological Notes on Ancient Electrum Coins" ("Num. Chron." N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 258) attributes certain staters to Lydia before the time of Crœsus, probably about B.C. 720, struck on the Babylonic standard, the stater weighing 167 grains, which was ultimately superseded by a pure gold stater of 125 grains issued on the Euboic standard, and which was most likely the prototype of the Daric. Other electrum staters before the time of Crœsus are, according to Mr. Head, struck on the Asiatic standard (220 grains) B.C. 700; on the Eginetic standard (208 grains) B.C. 680; on the Phocaic standard (256 grains) B.C. 600; and the money of Crœsus, who abolished the electrum coinage, became universal about B.C. 560.

a little less than that of an Attic stater. The electrum staters of the west of Asia Minor were commonly called in ancient times Cyzicene staters (στατῆρες Κυζικηνοί, Κυζικηνοί). They consist of about one-fourth part of silver and three-fourths of pure gold, and weigh about 248 grains troy.[22] According to ancient authority,[23] they passed on the Bosphorus, a little after the year B.C. 335, for 28 Athenian silver drachms, whilst the *stater aureus* of Athens, weighing 133 grains troy, was current at 20;[24] hence 20 : 133 :: 28 : 186+. The silver in

[22] T. Burgon, "Thomas Cat." p. 245. Pliny ("Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 4, 23) says that the proportion of gold and silver in the composition of electrum are *four* parts of gold to *one* part of silver—"ubicunque *quinta* argenti portio est, et *electrum* vocatur." This proportion would give 192 grains for the gold in a full Æginetan didrachm (240÷5=48; 240—48=192). If, however, he refers to the electrum of the coins of Asia Minor he is wrong, and the mistake would easily have been occasioned by a confusion between ¼ within 4 and ¼ added, the former, according to general opinion, being the proportion of the coins, the latter that he mentions (F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," 253; cf. R. S. Poole, Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Weights; "Encyc. Brit." 8th ed. art. Numismatics, p. 359). See OLD TESTAMENT, IX., *note* 37. Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. ii. p. 451; vol. i. p. xli.) questioned the existence of these gold staters, but authentic specimens are extant, and doubtless represent the Κυζικηνοί promised by Xenophon ("Exped. Cyri." v. 6, 23) to his soldiers as their pay per month. Two weights, one of lead with the legend KVΣ and CTAτήρ weighing 290·2 grains, the other of bronze with the legend KVΣI and ΔICστάτηρον, weighing 461·6 grains, were published some years since by the late M. C. Lenormant ("Rev. Num." 1856, p. 7 *seq.*, Pl. I., Nos. 1 and 2), and a third of lead with the inscription KVΣI TPICτάτηρον, weighing 685·9 grains, is in the British Museum (A. S. Murray, "Num. Chron.," N.S. 1868, vol. viii. pp. 66, 71. The figures in these passages are conflicting). These though not exact give in any case a normal weight of 247 grains for the stater of Cyzicus. A fourth of bronze also in the Museum with KVΣI ΔICTAτηρον is said to weigh 696 grains, which is quite unintelligible.

[23] Demosth. "in Phorm." p. 914.

[24] Xen. "Exped. Cyri." i. 7, 18.

them was evidently not counted, and this stater which weighed 186+ grains was equal to a low didrachm of the Æginetan talent. Other staters are mentioned as being in circulation in Greece; those of Lampsacus, which have the weight of the daric; of Phocæa,[25] of Corinth,[26] and those of Philip of Macedon, and Alexander the Great, who issued them of the weight of Attic didrachms.

The *stater* is thus always a *didrachm.*

The name was, however, in later times applied to the *tetradrachm* (silver) of Athens[27] as well as to the *tetradrachms* (gold)—commonly called octodrachms—of the Ptolemies.[28]

There seems then to be no doubt that the name stater was first applied to the didrachm and then to the tetradrachm as a standard of both metals.

At the time of Augustus the Attic tetradrachm had fallen to be equal to a Phœnician didrachm and to four *denarii* of the weight of that period. During the first and second centuries the silver currency of Palestine consisted of tetradrachms of Antioch on Orontes, of Tyre,

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[25] Thucyd. iv. 52; Demosth. "in Bœot." p. 1019.

[26] Pollux, iv. 174; ix. 80.

[27] Phot. *s. v.* στατήρ; Hesych. *s. v.* γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί. Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 49, *note*) says that the passages referred to by Böckh ("Pol. Ec. Ath." i. 18) cannot be proved to signify the silver tetradrachm rather than the gold stater. Dr. Arnold, however, in a note to the passage in Thucydides (iii. 70) writes as follows:—"στατήρ. Probably the silver stater or tetradrachm, and not the gold stater, which was equal to twenty drachmæ (see Böckh, 'Staatshaushalt. der Athen.,' i. p. 16, 22). So in Xenophon ('Hell.' v. 2, 22) the silver stater appears to be meant where the writer is speaking of the fine imposed by the Lacedæmonians upon those of their allies who did not join in an expedition; they were to pay a stater a day for every man short of their proper contingent."

[28] See some "Remarks on the Staters of the Ptolemies," by R. S. Poole in the "Num. Chron." N.S. 1867, vol. vii. p. 161.

etc., and of Roman *denarii* of a quarter their weight. The Attic tetradrachm was called *stater*, as the standard coin of the system, and no other stater was current in Palestine at this time. The *stater* in the Gospel was, therefore, a tetradrachm of pure silver.

The great cities of Syria and Phœnicia either ceased to strike tetradrachms or debased their coinage before the close of the first century A.D. Antioch continued to strike tetradrachms to the third century, but gradually depreciated them, the commencement of which cannot be determined. It was carried so far as to destroy the correspondence of the stater to four *denarii* by the time of Hadrian.

Other cities, if they issued staters towards the close of the first century, struck them of such base metal, as to render their separation from copper money impossible.

On this evidence the Gospel is of the first century.

The minute accuracy of the Evangelist has already been alluded to by Mr. Poole. He says:[29] "The silver currency in Palestine consisted of Greek imperial tetradrachms or staters, and Roman *denarii* of a quarter their weight, didrachms having fallen into disuse. Had two didrachms been found by St. Peter, the receivers of tribute would scarcely have taken them, and no doubt the ordinary coin paid was that miraculously supplied."

The didrachm of Tyre and the didrachm of Antioch, both of which equalled half a stater, are very rare *after the Christian era*. Of the former the British Museum has only two, and of the latter only one.[30]

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[29] Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," art. Stater; F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 239.

[30] The two didrachms of Tyre in the British Museum have the dates ΡΞΘ (169=A.D. 43) and ΡϟΑ (191=A.D. 65), that of Antioch (though the coinage commenced in the time of M. Antony and continued through a long series of emperors)

The coin of which a representation is here given is a tetradrachm of Antioch, and is a specimen of the *stater*

that was found by St. Peter in the fish's mouth [see under V. *Piece of Silver*].

It represents the tax for two persons—for our Lord and for St. Peter.

IV. *Penny* (δηνάριον, *denarius*, Matt. xviii. 28, xx. 2, 9, 10, 13, xxii. 19; Mark vi. 37, xii. 15, xiv. 5; Luke vii. 41, x. 35, xx. 24; John vi. 7, xii. 5; Rev. vi. 6).

According to Pliny,[31] silver was not coined at Rome till A.U.C. 485=B.C. 269, but Mommsen[32] proves that the actual coinage did not commence till B.C. 268. The *denarius* doubtless received its name from being at first equivalent to *ten asses*, but on the reduction of the weight of the *as*, it was made equal to *sixteen asses*. The soldiers, however, still received the *denarius* as equal to *ten of the old asses*.[33]

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has on one side the head of Claudius and on the other the head of Nero. They weigh 110 grains. The Tyrian era commenced in B.C. 126, and coins exist in the British Museum of the following dates: M (40=B.C. 86), MS (46=B.C. 80), MΘ (49=B.C. 77), ϟΘ (99=B.C. 27), PΘ (109=B.C. 17). I have to thank Mr. Head for answering my queries respecting these coins.

[31] "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3.

[32] "Hist. de la Monnaie Rom." ed. Blacas et de Witte, vol. ii. p. 28.

[33] "In militari stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus." Plin. "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3. "Denis in diem assibus

There appear to have been originally 72 *denarii* struck to the pound,[34] which system probably lasted till B.C. 217, whilst under the Republic and up to the reign of Nero 84 *denarii* to the pound were issued. From the time of Nero to that of Septimius Severus 96 *denarii* were struck to the pound, but on the accession of Caracalla in A.D. 215 he introduced a new piece called *Argenteus Antoninianus*,[35] of which 60 or 64 went to the pound, and which soon after supplanted the *denarius*.[36] The *argenteus*

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animam et corpus æstimari—ut singulos denarios mererent." Tac. "Ann. i. 17. For an explanation of the "soldier's pay" as given by Polybius see under VI. Farthing.

[34] Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 26, 153. Mr. Poole ("Encyc. Brit." 8th ed. art. Numismatics) writes: "It is said that at first a *hundred denarii* were struck from the pound of silver." I do not know on what authority, unless he took Budé ("De Asse") as his authority, quoted by Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 135, *note* O). The same statement is made in Adam's "Roman Antiquities," ed. Rev. J. R. Major, 1835, p. 434.

[35] Vopiscus, "Bonos," 15, but called elsewhere (Vopisc. "Probus," 4), *Argenteus Aurelianus*.

[36] Some have thought the base metal coin of Gallienus, which had degenerated from the *argenteus*, to be a *denarius æreus*. On this point Mommsen (*op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 104, *note*) says, "L'expression *denarius æreus* employée par quelques auteurs modernes est fausse, et ne se trouve dans aucune source ancienne. Cette expression dérive du rescrit de Valérien (Vopisc. "Aurelian," 9) où il est question d'*æris denarii centum;* mais cette manière de s'exprimer ne veut dire autre chose que ce que signifient ailleurs *in aere* HS *quinquagies* (Vopisc. *loc. cit.* 12) ou *aeris* HS *decies* (Vopisc. "Bonosus," 15), c'est à dire l'assignation d'une somme en monnaie de cuivre ou plutôt une somme qui n'est pas énoncée en monnaie d'or ou d'argent (see Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 107, *note* 1). Il ne peut être ici question de la piece de cuivre saucé, parcequ' alors Valérien ne faisait encore frapper que du billon." The name *denarius* was, however, sometimes applied to the copper, for Macrobius ("Sat. i. 7, 22) calls the copper piece with which children used to play "heads or tails" (*capita aut navim*) *denarius*; and small pieces of copper of the time of Justinian

gradually became made of baser metal, until, indeed, it was little more than copper washed with silver or tin. Diocletian reformed the coinage, issuing pieces of good silver at 60 to the pound.[37] He also issued smaller pieces of silver at 96 to the pound, and specimens exist with the figures XCVI stamped on them.[38] Constantine

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perhaps existed called *denarius nummus* or *libella* (Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 107). The expression *denarius aureus* seems generally to have been used in opposition to *denarius argenteus* (Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 19, *note* 3; Plin. xxxiii. 3, xxxiv. 7, xxxvii. 1; but see Hussey, "Weights and Money, pp. 154, 155), and some specimens of the gold coins of the Bosphorus with the mark ⚹ evidently indicate the *denarius aureus* (Mommsen, vol. iii. p. 294). For the *denarius* mentioned in the edict of Diocletian see *note* 42.

[37] A small silver medallion of Constans struck at Aquileia has on it the figures LX (Cohen, No. 21), and that coins were issued at sixty to the pound is proved by the law of the emperors Valentinian II., Theodosius I., and Arcadius in A.D. 384 ("Cod. Theod." xv. 9, 1), in which it is forbidden to distribute to the people silver pieces heavier than sixty to the pound—"nec majorem argenteum nummum fas sit expendere, quam qui formari solet cum argenti libra una in *argenteos sexaginta* dividitur." Cf. J. Friedländer "De la sign. des Lettres O B." Berlin, 1873. *Tirage à part*, p. 28.

[38] Eckhel ("Doct. Num. Vet." vol. viii. p. 507) could not give any interpretation of these figures, which is due to the Baron Marchant ("Mélanges de Num. et d'Hist." xxviie lettre, Metz, 1829; cf. Cavedoni, "Bull. de l'Inst. Arch.," 1863, p. 219). M. Cohen, ("Méd. Imp." vol. v. p. 387), however, objected to this explanation in a long note—as he had also done to the interpretation of O B; but he afterwards (*op. cit.* vol. vi. p. 627) altered his opinion, as I have already elsewhere ("Num. Chron." N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 76) pointed out. There is no doubt that XCVI means ninety-six to the pound. Mr. Poole ("Encyc. Brit." 8th ed. p. 383) and I ("Handbook to Rom. Num." p. 7) had thought that the silver coin of Diocletian weighing a little less than 50 grains was the *cententionalis* (*sic*), but the passages in the Theodosian code (ix. 23, 1, 2) which speak of the *nummus centenionalis*—sometimes called *communis*—would seem rather to refer to the copper (Mommsen, *op. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 81, *note* 2; 100, *note* 1; 102, *note* 1; 105, *note* 2;

the Great made other alterations which continued with variations to the end of the empire.[39]

Under the Republic the earliest *denarii* had upon the obverse the heads of Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Janus, Jupiter, and afterwards the head of Rome with **X** for *denarius;* but under the Imperial rule they bore the titles and effigies of the reigning Cæsar.

A *denarius* was the day's pay for a labourer in Palestine at the time of our Lord (Matt. xx. 2, 9, 10, 13; cf. Tobit v. 14),[40] and may be considered to have been very good wages, notwithstanding that Shakspere[41] speaks of "drachmas wrung from the hard hands of peasants." It was also the pay of a field-labourer in the middle ages,[42] and the term is still preserved in our £ *s.* D.

There is no doubt that most of the silver currency in

106, *note* 1). Dr. Friedlander (*op. cit.* p. 28) also speaks of the *centenionalis* as a silver coin.

[39] Mommsen (*op. cit.*) vol. iii. p. 76.

[40] See under OLD TESTAMENT.—B. II. Drachm.

[41] "Jul. Cæs." Act. iv. scene 3.

[42] Akerman, "Num. Ill. of the New Testament," p. . According to the edict of Diocletian, issued in 301, as interpreted by the late Colonel Leake (Lond. 1826), the maximum of the wages of the agricultural labourers was *twenty-five denarii*, but Mommsen ("Das Edict Diocletians De pretiis Rerum Venalium," Leipzig, 1851) has shown that though the price of all articles and of labour is given in *denarii*, it is impossible to fix the value, as the *denarius* here mentioned is not the usual *silver* coin of that name. According to Mr. Waddington ("Édit de Dioclétian," Paris, 1864) the *denarii* alluded to are the small *copper* pieces, *saucés d'étain*, which have frequently in the field the sign ⧖, indicating the value; but though he thus identifies the pieces in the edict, he says that the value cannot be determined, as one is ignorant of the relation of copper to gold and silver in the monetary system followed by Diocletian. *Cf.* Mommsen ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom."), vol. iii., p. 106. *See note* 36.

Palestine during the New Testament period consisted of *denarii*. The Attic drachm and *denarius* were at this time identical [see V. *Piece of silver*].

The "penny" was the tribute money payable by the Jews to the Roman Emperor, and a representation of it is given above under II. TRIBUTE [MONEY] (2), where I have also spoken of the special passages of Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; and Luke xx. 24.

V. *Piece of silver*—two words are rendered in the New Testament by this phrase; (1) δραχμή, *drachma*; (2) ἀργύριον, *argenteus, denarius*.

(1) The first occurs in St. Luke xv. 8, "Either what woman having ten pieces of silver (δραχμὰς δέκα), if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it?"

The *drachma*, as I have previously stated,[43] was at this time identical with the *denarius*, and the latter had almost, if not altogether, superseded the former.

(2) The second word occurs in two distinct passages:—

A. The account of the betrayal of our Lord for "thirty pieces of silver" (τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, *triginta argenteos*, Matt. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 3, 5, 6, 9).

[43] See under OLD TESTAMENT.—B. II. Drachm; NEW TESTAMENT.—IV. Penny. Different weights have been assigned to the drachma, varying from 68·2 grains to 66·50. Col. Leake ("Num. Hell.," p. 21) assigned the weight as 67·5 grains, which was adopted by Mr. Poole ("Encyc. Brit.," 8th ed., Art. Numismatics). Gen. Cunningham ("Num. Chron.," N.S., 1873, vol. xiii. p. 191), taking the mean value deduced by eleven of the principal writers upon this subject, has adopted the value of 67·2 grains. He says, "The convenience of this value is very great, for it is not only a finite fraction itself, but it is continually divisible by 2, as a finite fraction, down to 0·7 of a grain, or $\frac{1}{16}$th of an obolus. It also gives the whole number of 112 grains for 10 oboli, and fixes the Phœnician drachma at 56 grains, the Macedonian drachma at 112 grains, and the Hebrew shekel at 224 grains, all in whole numbers."

Some have considered these "pieces" to be *denarii*, but on no sufficient grounds.

The parallel passage in Zechariah (xi. 12, 13), translated in the Authorised Version "thirty [*pieces*] of silver," and which should doubtless be read "thirty *shekels* of silver,[44] but translated by the LXX. "thirty silvers" (τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς, Vulg. triginta *argenteos*), may throw some light on the subject, whilst it is observable that "thirty *shekels* of silver" was the price of blood to be paid in the case of a servant accidentally killed (Exod. xxi. 32). Mr. Poole[45] has proposed to explain the passage in St. Matthew as "thirty *shekels* of silver," not current shekels, but tetradrachms of the Attic standard of Greek cities of Syria and Phœnicia. These tetradrachms were common at the time of our Lord, and we have already seen that of them the STATER was a specimen [III. *Piece of Money*]. It is therefore most likely that the "thirty *pieces* of silver," for which our Lord was betrayed, were rather Attic tetradrachms than *denarii*.

In the Authorised Version of St. Matthew the prophecy as to the "thirty *pieces* of silver" is ascribed to Jeremiah, and not to Zechariah. Many suggestions have been made on this question;[46] but it is to be observed that the Syriac version omits the proper name and merely says "the prophet;" hence a copyist might have inserted the wrong name.

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[44] See under OLD TESTAMENT.—A. Uncoined money in the Old Testament.

[45] Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," art. Piece of silver. Bishop Cumberland was also of opinion that the ἀργύριον in this passage was a *silverling* or *shekel* of silver, equal to 2*s*. 4½*d*. of our money (Parkhurst, "Lexicon to N. T." ed. Rose, 1829, *s. v.* ἀργύριον). Dr. Davidson ("New Testament," 1875, p. xlvi.) says the same thing, but gives the equality as 2*s*. 6*d*.

[46] Dr. Eadie in Kitto, "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Zechariah.

B. The price of the conjuring books that were burnt, valued at "fifty thousand pieces of silver" (ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε; pecuniam *denariorum* quinquaginta millium, Acts xix. 19).

The Vulgate has accurately rendered the phrase *denarii*, as there is no doubt that these coins are intended.

VI. *Farthing*:—

This word occurs four times in the Authorised Version of the New Testament. Two names of coins are rendered by it.

1. Ἀσσάριον, the Greek name of the Roman *as* or *assarius*.

In St. Matthew x. 29, the passage with reference to the two (or five) sparrows sold for a *farthing* is rendered Οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται; nonne duo passeres *asse* veneunt? and in St. Luke xii. 6, Οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσσαρίων δύο; nonne quinque passeres veneunt *dipondio?*

The *dipondius*, or *dupondius*, was originally equal to *two asses*.[47]

From the fact that the Vulgate substitutes the word *dipondius* for the *two assaria* of the Greek text, it is more than probable that a single coin is intended by this latter expression.

This idea is fully borne out by the copper coins of

[47] The *dupondius*, with other denominations—the *decussis*, *quadrussis*, and *tripondius*—disappear from the coinage shortly after the reduction of the *as* in B.C. 86 (Mommsen, "Monnaie Romaine," ed. Blacas and De Witte, vol. ii. p. 75). Under Augustus, however, two coins were struck of yellow brass (*orichalcum*—see under OLD TESTAMENT—IX.) called *sestertius* and *dupondius*, while the *as* continued to be struck in copper, and was of the same weight as the *dupondius* (Plin., "Nat. Hist." xxxiv. 2; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 299; "Handbook of Roman Numismatics," p. 2).

Chios. The Greek autonomous coins of this island have inscribed upon them the words **ΑΣΣΑΡΙΟΝ, ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΔΥΩ**, or **ΔΥΟ**, and **ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ**. There are others inscribed **ΗΜΥΑΣΣΑΡΙΟΝ** and **ΟΒΟΛΟΣ**.[48]

These two latter terms are mentioned by Polybius.

The late Dr. Finlay, in his excellent paper on "The Coinage of the Achaian League,"[49] alluded to the passages of Polybius in the following words:—"I cannot decide whether Polybius regarded the League coins as tetrobols or hemidrachms. He says (vi. 39, 12) that the daily pay of a Roman soldier was two obols. We know it was five *asses*, and the weight of a *denarius* of the period cannot have been less than 64 grains troy. I possess one (*gens Poblicia*) of that weight. Junia, 63·5; Calpurnia, Julia, Mamilia, and Pomponia, each 62. This gives 32 grains of silver as the equivalent of the Roman pay. The standard weight of an Æginetan obolos, put at 14·5, only gives 29 grains of Greek silver, which is a great but perhaps intelligible loss on the exchange of Roman copper for Greek silver coin. But if we suppose Polybius to refer to the Macedonian standard, the obolos being only 10·75, the pay of a Roman soldier would only be equal to 21·5 grains of Greek silver, when we know that it was equivalent to at least 32 grains of Roman silver. This is quite inadmissible.

"I find it also impossible to reconcile another passage

[48] For the weights of these coins see "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 303. The word **ΟΒΟΛΟΣ** occurs also on a copper coin of Metapontum, struck about B.C. 300 ("Jew. Coin." p. 244). Vitruvius (lib. iii. 1) states that the Greeks employed *copper oboli*; and Lucian, who was born about A.D. 120, speaks of the *obolus of copper* as a coin of common occurrence (*οἶδα γὰρ τὸν χαλκὸν, ὀβολὸν, ὡς οἶσθα, παρὰ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἑκάστου ἐκλέγων.* "Contempl." ed. Didot, p. 133).

[49] "Num Chron." N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 26.

of Polybius with the foregoing, and suspect he must have been referring to different periods without taking into account the great changes that took place in the value of money. He tells us (ii. 15, 6) that an *as* was equal to half an obolos. Now if we reckon the obolos at 14·5, this makes the pay of a Roman soldier equivalent to 36·25 grains of silver, and the Roman *denarius* ought to have weighed 72·5. But if we reckon the obolos at 10·75, the five *asses* are equivalent to 26 750, and the Roman *denarius* to only 53·5.

"I cannot see my way in this dilemma."

I will now try to offer some solution to this question, and therefore enter more fully into particulars than I did in my "Jewish Coinage." [50]

The words of Polybius are: "The foot-soldiers receive as pay *two oboli* a day, the centurions twice as much, and the cavalry a drachma." [51] Now Dr. Finlay appears to

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[50] P. 243; cf. F. W. Madden, Kitto, "Cyc. of Bib. Lit." ed. Alexander, *s. v.* Farthing. Hussey ("Weights and Money," p. 145) has not arrived at any satisfactory conclusion.

[51] Ὀψώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ λαμβάνουσι τῆς ἡμέρας δύο ὀβολούς, οἱ δε ταξίαρχοι διπλοῦν, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς δραχμήν. "Reliq." vi. 39, 12. Two obols a day was the daily pay of a rower (Lucian, "De Electro," 3). The pay for labour in Lucian's time (born about A.D. 120) was four obols ("Tim." 6; "Epist. Saturn." 21), or as much as the centurion got in the time of Polybius. But the pay of the soldier was doubled by Julius Cæsar (Suet. in "Jul." 26), and it was afterwards increased to ten *asses* (Tac. "Ann." i. 17; Plin., "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3; Dion. Cass. liv. 25). [See under IV. Penny.] Domitian increased it still more by adding three *aurei* annually (Suet. "in Dom." 7). As the soldier also received allowances of corn, the word for pay (*stipendium*) is called by Polybius ὀψώνιον, and so it is designated by St. Luke (iii. 14), and by Josephus ("Antiq." xii. 2, 3). It also occurs in this sense in 1 Maccab. iii. 28, xiv. 32, and 1 Esdras iv. 56. As wages or reward generally, it is found in Rom. vi. 23 and 2 Cor. xi. 8. The word μισθός for "wages"

have done one of two things. He has either reckoned the *denarius* as ten *asses*, and taken *half* of the latter sum for the pay; or he has reckoned it at sixteen *asses*, and taken the *third part*, which would also give five *asses* (or rather $5\frac{1}{3}$). From his assuming that the *denarius* of the period did not weigh less than 64 grains, and that 32 grains of silver (the *half*) was the pay, it would seem as if he had adopted the former reckoning, confirmed also by his following calculations.

It may be inferred from the passage of Polybius that the pay of the soldier was *one-third* of the drachm or *denarius*, which, taking the *denarius* as ten *asses*, on the authority of Pliny, who says that it was always estimated as such in paying the soldiers,[52] would give $3\frac{1}{3}$ *asses* a day. The average weight of the *denarius* of the period is 59 grains—say 60: those at 62, 63, or 64 are exceptional coins. The third of this would be 20 grains of silver. How does this agree with the *two obols?* Taking the Attic obolos of 11·25 (or as it was afterwards reduced to 10), two obols of the Attic standard would equal 20 grains, or the pay of a Roman soldier. It is hardly likely that Polybius is speaking of an Æginetan obolos of 14·5 grains, which would give a drachm of 85·2 grains, 25·2 grains more than the *denarius*. The *denarius* previous to B.C. 217 was equal to *ten bi-uncial asses*, but afterwards, in the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus, it was made equal to *sixteen uncial asses*.[53] In order therefore that

is otherwise generally employed, not only by classical authors, but also by the LXX. and in the New Testament [see under OLD TESTAMENT.—B. II. Drachm].

[52] "In militari stipendio *semper denarius* pro *decem assibus* datus." "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 8 [see under IV. Penny].

[53] "Q. Fabio Maximo Dictatore, *asses unciales* facti; placuique denarium *xvi assibus* permutari." Plin., "Nat. Hist." xxxiii. 3.

the soldiers should not lose, and as their pay was reckoned in *asses*, it was ordered that the *denarius* paid to them should always be held as *ten of the old asses*, and not as ten of the new, so that they still received a *denarius*, for which they could obtain in change *sixteen uncial asses*. In all probability, therefore, from the context of Polybius, he would have regarded the League coins as Attic tetrobola, and not as Æginetan hemidrachms, though these divisions of coins were in themselves equal in weight.

The second passage of Polybius states that the sum given by a traveller in Italy for a day's living was a *half as*, and that this was equal to the *fourth part of the obolos*.[54] Consequently an *as* was equal to *half an obolos*, making *four asses* equal to two obols, or the pay of a foot-soldier. I have, however, just attempted to show that 3½ *bi-uncial asses* was the actual sum paid to the soldier, and there is not much doubt that Polybius is here speaking in round numbers and in general terms. It would seem that the half-obol equalled one-twelfth of the drachm, and the *as* one-tenth of the *denarius*, exactly the same proportion as the franc and the shilling.

There are some further thoughts which suggest themselves in this second passage of Polybius—"the half-as was equal to the fourth part of the obolos."

From this statement General Cunningham has not hesitated to assume[55] that the *assarion* was equal to half an obolos or four *chalci*, and that therefore the Roman *quadrans*, or fourth part of the *as*, was equal to the *chalcous*, from which, as St. Mark (xii. 42) says that the quadrans contained *two lepta*, the *lepton* must have been exactly one half of the *chalcous*.

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[54] Ἡμιασσαρίου, τοῦτο δ' ἐστι τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολοῦ. "Hist." ii. 15, 6.

[55] "Num. Chron." N.S. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 195.

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Now the use of the term Ἡμιασσάριον by Polybius is not only interesting but correct. During the time which his history embraces, which is included between B.C. 220 and B.C. 146 (from the second Punic and Social war to the fall of Corinth),[56] the *as uncialis* was adopted, as I have above stated, under the dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus, but for some few years, perhaps up to B.C. 204, it still weighed about 490 grains, or more than an ounce, whilst from B.C. 204 to B.C. 154 it had a full uncial weight averaging 369 grains.[57]

But the half-obol or 4 *chalci* only weighed 268·8 grains.

During the next Roman monetary period between B.C. 154 and B.C. 134 the *as* is *wanting*, the existing coins being the *semis* weighing 133·3 grains, and the *quadrans* about 81·5 grains, whilst between B.C. 134 and B.C. 114 there was in addition a *triens* of from 116 to 75 grains.[58] The mean of three of the pieces called *semis* would give an *as* of 262·4 grains.

In this *semis*, then, we would seem to have the ἡμιασσάριον to which Polybius alludes. It agrees in weight with the *dichalcon* or quarter of the obolos, and would have an *as* (if it existed) of 262·4 grains, exactly the weight of four *chalci*. Its *quadrans*, moreover, would agree in weight with the *chalcous*.

But to assume, as General Cunningham has done, that because the *quadrans* of B.C. 154—134 equalled the *chalcous*, therefore the *two lepta* of the time of St. Mark

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[56] Polybius was born about B.C. 210, and died about B.C. 129 (Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. p. 119).

[57] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. pp. 31, 32, Pl. XXIV., XXV., Nos. 2, 3.

[58] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. p. 37, Pl. XXVI., Nos. 6, 7; Pl. XXVII., Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

equalled each *half a chalcous*, or 33·6 grains, does not seem to me to be quite so clearly proved. Many changes in the Roman copper coinage were made during this period. The *dodrans* and *bes* were introduced between B.C. 114 and B.C. 104, the mean of four *dodrans* giving an *as* of 277·9 grains,[59] and it was not till about the middle of the latter year, under C. Blasio and C. Fonteius, that the *as*, weighing 325·9 grains, reappeared. By the *lex Papiria* in B.C. 89, an *as* of *half an ounce* was introduced; no importance, however, seems to have been attached to its intrinsic value, consequently we find specimens of the *as* weighing one-eighth of an ounce (92·6—51·7 grains), and soon (B.C. 84—74) the issue of copper money almost entirely ceased. About B.C. 38 there was a great change in the copper coinage, a *sestertius* of copper equal to four *asses*, and called τετρασσάριον, and weighing 420·3 grains, was introduced, together with pieces of three *asses* (357·8 grains), of two *asses* (268 grains), of one *as* (55·8 grains), and of half an *as* (47 grains).[60] This system did not last long. Augustus introduced the *sestertius* (396·3 grains), and *dupondius* (203 grains) of yellow metal (ὀρείχαλκος), whilst the *as*, having the same weight as the *dupondius*, was struck of copper, the other denominations being the *semis* and the *quadrans*, the former of which disappears under Antoninus Pius, the latter under Trajan.[61]

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[59] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. ii. p. 348.

[60] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom.," vol. iii. p. 83; vol. iv. p. 77, Pl. XXXIII.

[61] Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 85, vol. iv. p. 83, Pl. XXXIV. The χαλκοῦς appears to have existed at Pharæ about A.D. 180 (νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον, καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα. Pausan. lib. vii. c. 22; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 121). See *note* 66.

It is then to the period of Augustus and his successors that we must look for the *quadrans* mentioned by St. Mark.[62]

The *assarion* of the New Testament must be sought for among the Greek imperial coins, and the second brass coins of Antioch in Syria seem to furnish us with probable specimens. One of these coins with the countermark ΓΑΔ proves that it was lawfully current in Gadara of Decapolis.[63] They were issued of four sizes, the *sestertius*, the *as*, the *semis*, and the *quadrans*, or χαλκοῦς.

These coins from the time of Augustus are of two series, (1) with Greek legends and having the name of the town and the date of the era of Antioch, and (2) with the name of the emperor in Latin, and on the reverse the letters **S. C.** Of the Greek coins specimens are extant in the British Museum of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, and Galba, and of the Latin of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Otho, and Vespasian. After the reign of Vespasian, the two sets become amalgamated and form one series. In my "Jewish Coinage" (p. 302) I stated that the large coins of the Latin series were doubtless the *as* of copper and the second brass the *semis*, but I think I was mistaken.[64] When the *sestertius* and *dupondius* were introduced, the *as*, which is very rare,[65] became the same weight as the *dupondius*, which did not exceed 203 grains,

[62] See under κοδράντης, and VII. Mite.

[63] Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 302.

[64] Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 111, *note* 91) identified them with the *dupondius* and the *as*, but these were of the same weight ("Hist. of Jew. Coin." pp. 299, 302, *note* 4).

[65] The *as* of Nero is excessively rare. No specimen exists in the British Museum or in France, but there was one formerly in the Blacas Collection (Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iv. p. 86; Pl. XXXV. No. 5), though M. de Witte does not know where it now is, and so is unable to record its weight.

and the *as* averaged about 160. As therefore the largest coins struck at Antioch weighed 302 grains, it is clear that these cannot be the *as*, but rather the *sestertius*, and that the second brass coins averaging 143 grains are specimens of the *as*.

2. Κοδράντης. This word occurs in two passages—(1) "Till thou has paid the uttermost *farthing*" (κοδράντην, *quadrantem*, Matt. v. 26), and (2) "she threw in two mites, which make a *farthing*" (λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης; *duo minuta, quod est quadrans*, Mark xii. 42).

The *quadrans*, or fourth part of the Roman *as*, was at one time equal to the χαλκοῦς, weighing 67·2 grains.

In the time of Cicero, as recorded by Plutarch in the story of the impiety of Clodius, *circ.* B.C. 62, it was said to be the smallest Roman brass coin.[66]

The copper currency of Palestine in the time of Augustus and Tiberius consisted partly of Roman coins and partly of Græco-Roman or Greek Imperial. Under Vespasian there are small pieces weighing 67 and 55 grains. These will therefore be the *semis*, whilst the χαλκοῦς, of which no example is in the British Museum, but which is known to exist,[67] weighs from 32 to 33 grains.

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[66] Τὸ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδράντην ἐκάλουν. Plutarch "in Cic." xxix. 26. Mommsen ("Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. p. 35, *note*) is of opinion that most of the passages in which mention is made of the *quadrans* under the Empire are insufficient to prove its existence as a current coin, and considers that the passage in Plutarch is rather contrary than favourable to this idea. See *note* 61.

[67] Pellerin, "Lettre," iv. Pl. IV. 2; Hunter, Pl. LXVIII.; Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iii. p. 286; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coin.," p. 121, *note* 5. See under VII. Mite. It may be as well to notice that Schleusner ("Lex. N. T." *s. v.* κοδράντης), after Fischer, considers the *quadrans* of the New Testament not to have equalled the Roman *quadrans*, but to have been the fourth

Thus, in consequence of the reduction of the weight of the *as* and other changes, the χαλκοῦς or *quadrans* of 67·2 grains became reduced to just half the weight, and may be considered together with the small coins of the Herodian family to be the smallest copper coin of this period (thus agreeing with the *quadrans* struck at Rome) —the farthing of the New Testament.

VII. *Mite* (λεπτόν, *minutum,* Mark xii. 42; Luke xii. 59; xxi. 2).

The *lepton* was originally a small Greek copper coin, of which *seven,* it is said, went to the χαλκοῦς;[68] but this division is not at all likely, nor do any coins that have come down to us show that this division ever existed. General Cunningham proposes to consider,[69] and I think with justice, that the *lepton* was originally one-sixteenth of the obol, weighing 33·6 grains, and hence half of the χαλκοῦς.[70]

According to St. Mark (xii. 42), it is stated, "two *lepta,* which is a *quadrans*" (λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης). The explanation ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης is omitted in the parallel passage in St. Luke (xxi. 2).

These words of St. Mark have been the cause of much controversy. It will be, perhaps, as well to recapitulate some opinions that have been offered.

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of the Jewish *as*. The Jewish *as* is made to correspond with the half of the half-ounce Roman *as;* and as, according to Jewish writers, the פרקטה or פרוטה was the eighth part of the *assar* or Jewish *as* (Buxtorf, "Lex. Talm." *s. v.* אסיר), and as the Evangelists have understood this word פרוטה to be the *lepton*, it follows that the *quadrans* equalled δύο λέπτα. But this theory is not tenable (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 296—302; Kitto, Cyc. of Bib. Lit." *s. v.* Mite).

[68] Suidas, *s. vv.* τάλαντον and ὀβολός.

[69] "Num. Chron." N.S., 1878, vol. xiii. p. 194.

[70] See under IX. Money-changers.

The late Abbé Cavedoni supposed[71] that St. Mark meant to say *one lepton* was of the value of *one quadrans*, for had he intended to express that two of the small pieces of money were equal to a *quadrans*, then he must have written ἅ ἐστι instead of ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης, and the Vulgate has also very correctly translated *quod est*, and not *quæ sunt*. Moreover, from other passages it is evident that the *quadrans* is the same as the *lepton*, for the words of our Lord in St. Matthew (v. 26) are ἔσχατον κοδράντην, and in St. Luke (xii. 59) are ἔσχατον λεπτὸν. Finally, says Cavedoni, "the contrary supposition, that the *quadrans* was equal to *two lepta*—as the *quadrans* at that time weighed only 30 grains—would bring the result, that among the Jewish coins in the time of our Saviour, some must have existed of the weight of 15·44 grains, or perhaps a little more; but of such kind of small Jewish coins I know none."

I did not in my "Jewish Coinage" accept these views,[72] and in 1865 I received a letter confirming my conclusions from the Rev. J. B. McClellan, in which he says: "In reference to the passage, Mark xii. 42, λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης, there is no room for doubt, in consequence of the phrase ὅ ἐστι, which is a common formula of explanation, both in St. Mark and other places of the New Testament. See Mark iii. 17, similar both as to number and case of the words preceding [καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα Βοανεργὲς, ὅ ἐστιν, υἱοὶ βροντῆς; *et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est, filii tonitru*]. Cavedoni's opinion is not in the slightest degree sustained by ὅ ἐστι, but, on the contrary, the usage of ὅ ἐστι makes it *certain*

[71] "Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 76.

[72] "Jewish Coinage," p. 297; Kitto, "Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." *s. v.* Mite.

that the κοδράντης *was equal in value to two* λεπτὰ, though possibly λεπτὰ δύο (like ἀσσάρια δύο) may have been *one* coin. I should be inclined to draw this inference from ὅ ἐστι. There is, of course, one more inference, that the λεπτά or λεπτόν was not current among the readers contemplated by St. Mark."

I have stated in another place[73] that General Cunningham has found no difficulty in the passage, and has accepted the view (to which I had originally inclined, but which after careful study I am induced to doubt) that *two lepta* equalled *one quadrans;* but he is speaking of a time between B.C. 220 and B.C. 146, and the period we are now considering is about A.D. 60, when the *quadrans* had become much reduced in weight, in fact, equivalent in weight to the old *lepton.* We then have on the one hand the statement of St. Mark, on the other the evidence of the coins.

The mite alluded to by St. Mark was a Jewish coin, for the Jews were not permitted to bring any but Jewish coins into the Holy Place, and for this cause money-changers stood in the entrance of the Temple in order to give Jewish money in exchange for foreign,[74] and it may be that the smallest coins of Alexander Jannaeus and of the Herods, which weigh from 15 to 18 grains, are the pieces in question, and the half of those weighing about 30 grains, which I take to be the *quadrans* or *lepton.*[75] Perhaps, as in the same way as we know that the *quadrans* was reduced to the same weight as the *lepton,* so the *lepton* itself was reduced to the same weight as the old half-

[73] See under VI. Farthing (ἀσσάριον).
[74] See under IX. Money-changers.
[75] See under VI. Farthing (κοδράντης).

lepton of 16·8 grains, and in this case *two of these* would be a *quadrans*.

But it is more probable that these pieces, of which there are very few examples, are only the *quadrans* of light weight.

I am now inclined myself to consider that St. Mark wrote and meant δυό λεπτὰ [*sc.* νομίσματα], "two small pieces of money,"[76] meaning the smallest pieces of money then extant, and that the ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης has been added to show that the *quadrans* was then the smallest piece struck; and in this case the parallel passages of "till thou hast paid the very last *mite*" (τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν, Luke xii. 59), and "till thou hast paid the very last *farthing*" (τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην, Matt. v. 26) will have a certain amount of weight.[77]

It is impossible to get over the fact that at this period the *quadrans* of the Empire, which still retained the name of χαλκοῦς, had the same weight as the *lepton* of the time of the Seleucidæ.[78]

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[76] The word λεπτός occurs as an adjective in Gen. xli. 4. A. V. "lean."

[77] Alford (Mark xii. 42) says, "Mark adds ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης for his Roman readers, showing that at this time no real coin of the name of *lepton* existed." Beza considered ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης a marginal quotation which has crept into the text, and Wassenburgh that there is no means of getting over the difficulty of the passage but by expunging the words (Bland, "Annotations to New Test."; Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 297). Maldonatus (a Jesuit writer of great repute, who flourished about 1562—1572), quoted by Cavedoni ("Bibl. Num." vol. i. p. 80, *note* 58) writes: "Dubium autem videtur esse, utrum horum verborum sensus sit, unumquodque minutum, an simul utrumque esse quadrantem. Euthymius singula minuta singulos quadrantes fuisse putat, quæ opinio validissima videtur posse ratione confirmari; num quod Matthæus (v. 26) dicit novissimum quadrantem, Lucas (xii. 59) dicit novissimum minutum, *quasi quadrans et minutum idem sint.*"

[78] See under VI. Farthing.

VIII. *Money of account:—*

1. *Talent* (τάλαντον, *talentum*). This word occurs (1) in the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. xviii. 23—35) who owed his lord ten thousand talents, and was forgiven, but who in his turn would not forgive one of his fellow-servants who owed him an hundred pence (*denarii*); and (2) in the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv. 14—30).

2. *Pound* (μνᾶ, *mna*). This word occurs in the parable of the pounds (Luke xix. 13—25), which is very similar in its teaching to that of the talents.

The Greek talent and Greek pound are doubtless here referred to. At this time the Attic talent obtained in Palestine, and 60 *minæ* went to the talent. The Greek name *mna* was derived from the Hebrew *maneh*, of which 50 went to the Hebrew talent.[79]

IX. *Money-changers:—*[80]

Three distinct terms are employed in the New Testament to express this class.

1. Τραπεζίτης, A. V. "exchanger;" *numularius*, Matt. xxv. 27, from τράπεζα, a table, a word which is employed for the "tables" (*mensæ*) of the money-changers in Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; John ii. 15, and for the "bank" (*mensa*) in Luke xix. 23.

[79] See under O. T. XI. Weights mentioned in the Old Testament.

[80] The Athenians called money-changers ἀργυραμοιβοί. In fact, all the terms in connection with money were derived from ἄργυρος or ἀργύριον, and not from χρυσὸς—"a coiner," ἀργυροπιστήρ or ἀργυροκόπος (*argentarius*; A. V. silversmith, Acts xix. 24; ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροκοπεῖ; *conflavit conflator*; A. V. founder, Jer. vi. 29; cf. Judges xvii. 4); "a money-chest," ἀργυροθήκη; "a money-dealer," ἀργυρονόμος, ἀργυροπράτης or ἀργυροπώλης, etc. (see Liddell and Scott). The employment of χρυσαμοίβος by Æschylus ("Agam." 436) is a solitary expression, and is apparently used with allusion to weight—καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορός, ver. 437.

2. Κολλυβιστὴς, A. V. "money-changer;" *numularius*, Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; A. V. "changer," John ii. 15, from κόλλυβος.

3. Κερματιστῆς, A. V. "changer of money;" *numularius*, John ii. 14, from κερματίζω, "to cut small," which from κέρμα, "money," *aes*, John ii. 15.

1. Τραπεζίτης was the ordinary name for the banker at Athens. Their principal occupation was that of changing money at an "*agio*." They were private bankers, like the *argentarii* at Rome, who must be distinguished from the *mensarii* or *mensularii* and the *numularii*, who were public bankers appointed by the state on various emergencies, the latter of whom seem to have been permanently employed.[81] Hence the Vulgate have rendered their name in all cases correctly.

From their weighing the coins paid to them the *trapezitæ* were contemptuously called ὀβολοστάται, and their profession ὀβολοστατική.[82]

As the Greek τραπεζίτης is from τραπέζα, "a table," so our English word "banker," French "banquier," is derived from the French *banc*, a *bench*, on which the person sat to do his business.

2. The origin of the word κόλλυβος or κόλλυβον is doubtful. Liddell and Scott (*s. v.*) state that "it is said to be a Phœnician word." Its meaning is also obscure. Sometimes it is designated as the "changing of money" or "rate of exchange,"[83] sometimes as a "small

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[81] Smith, "Dict. of Biog." *s. vv.* Argentarii and Mensarii.

[82] Becker, "Charicles," 1874, p. 71.

[83] Ἀργυρίου ἀλλαγὴ, ὁ καλούμενος κόλλυβος. Pollux. "Onom." iii. 9; cf. vii. 33. Frequently called καταλλαγή, and always carefully reckoned (Becker, "Charicles," p. 291). A money-changer is called καταλλάκτης by the Gram. Byz. (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*)

coin,"[84] or "a kind of money."[85] In the former sense it is also mentioned by Cicero,[86] and by Suetonius, who writes:[87] "The Emperor Augustus was upbraidingly told by Mark Antony that his grandfather was a money-changer (*avum argentarium*). Some said [at which Suetonius expresses surprise] that his father Caius Octavius carried on the same business; whilst Cassius of Parma taxed him not only with being the son of a baker, but also the grandson of an usurer (*nummularii nepotem*) in the following words, 'Thou art a lump of thy mother's meal, which a money-changer (*mensarius*) of Nerulum, taking from the newest bake-house of Aricia, kneaded with his hands discoloured by the *changing of money* (*collybo*).' "

The employment of the three different terms for "money-changers" in a few lines is worthy of notice.

In an inscription given by Böckh[88] the word κόλλυβος occurs twice, and ἀκολλύβιστος once, and here it seems also to mean the money exacted by the changers for changing money. The inscription itself, whose date is given by Böckh as previous to B.C. 167, appears to record a decree made by an assembly of the islanders (κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν) at Tenos, to set up a statue to one Timon, because whilst some demanded 105 drachms of Tenos for 100 drachms of Rhodes—[τῶν] πωλού[ντων ὑπὲρ ἑκατ]ὸν δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου οὐκ [ἔλαττον ἀπαιτούντων] ἑκατὸν καὶ πέντε δραχμῶν τῶν

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[84] Καὶ κόλλυβον, λεπτὸν τι νομισμάτιον. Pollux. "Onom." ix.72.

[85] Εἶδος νομισμάτος, Hesychius, *s. v.* The scholiast on Aristoph. ("Pax" 1199) explains κολλύβου as a "kind of paltry coin"—εἶδος εὐτελοῦς νομίσματος.

[86] "Nam *Collybus* esse qui potest, cum utantur omnes uno genere nummorum?"—"In Verr." iii. 78, 181; "Sed certe in *collubo* est detrimenti satis."—"Epist. ad Att." xii. 6.

[87] "In Aug." 4.

[88] "Corpus Ins." No. 2334.

T[*ηνίων*]—he procured for them the sum without their having to pay any *agio* ([*ἀκολλ*]*ύβιστον*).

Mr. Conder is of opinion that the *κόλλυβος* was not a coin but an "agio," or small payment for exchange. He suggests[89] that "there is a Chaldæan word קֹלְבָא (*pitch*), from which the term may naturally come as something attached or adhering to the half-shekel. In the Pentateuch we have a very similar instance. The word כֹּפֶר is translated 'pitch' in Gen. vi. 14, and *redemptionis pretium* in Exod. xxi. 30."

But the most important passage of all to throw light on this question is that in Theophrastus.[90] It is alluded to by Liddell and Scott, and from it they define the *κόλλυβος* to be "*a small gold weight*," and apparently without sufficient reason.

The passage is as follows:—*Εὑρῆσθαι δέ φασι νῦν ἀμείνω πολὺ τῆς πρότερον ὥστε μὴ μόνου τὸν ἐκ τῆς καθάρσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κατάχαλκον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον γνωρίζειν, καὶ πόσον εἰς τὸν στατῆρα μέμικται. Σημεῖα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου· ἐλάχιστον δε γίνεται κριθή, εἶτα κόλλυβος, εἶτα τεταρτημόριον, ἢ ἡμιώβολος, ἐξ ὧν γνωρίζουσι τὸ καθῆκον.*

Theophrastus is here speaking of the touch-stone, by means of which it is possible to ascertain the quantity of alloy contained in a gold or silver stater, for which purpose it is not necessary to analyze the whole coin, but only the smallest division of it, "for the smallest division is a *κριθή*, the next a *κόλλυβος*, the next a *τεταρτημόριον*, and the next an *ἡμιώβολος*, from which they find out what is proper, i.e. the alloy."

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[89] "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 180, *note*.

[90] "Frag. II. De Lapidibus," 46, ed. F. Wimmer, Paris, 1866, p. 346. I have to thank Mr. B. V. Head for looking up this passage, and for sending me a corrected copy of a portion of the inscription from Böckh.

The word κριθή means "a barley-corn," or "a grain, [illegible]" as the word λεπτός means "a husked grain of barley."

The κόλλυβος is the next largest piece.

The τεταρτημόριον is the same as the τεταρτωβόλιον, [illegible] quarter-obol.

The ἡμιώβολος is the half-obol.

From this account General Cunningham is of opinion [illegible] that the κριθή equals the λεπτόν, "which was [illegible] of the obolos in weight, that is [illegible] of 11·2 grains, or exactly [illegible], 0·7, of an English grain, which is in fact the actual weight of a grain of "husked barley;" adding that "Maimonides (or Mamûn), quoting the Misna, makes the *mea* or later Jewish obol of 11·2 grains consist of 1[illegible]6 barley-corns, each of which was therefore 0·7 of an English grain."

Hence the λεπτόν would be equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ the χαλκοῦς, itself $\frac{1}{8}$ of the obol.[92]

The τεταρτημόριον being the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol of 2·8 grains, and the ἡμιώβολος a piece of 5·6 grains, it follows that the κόλλυβος must have been a *silver* piece ranging between the λεπτόν and the $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, and therefore the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol, weighing about 1·4 grains. It would thus be the *silver equivalent* of the χαλκοῦς.

I may however add that according to the Talmud [93] the *collybus* was equal in value to a silver obolus, which has a weight of 12 grains, whilst Brandis[94] seems [illegible]

[91] "Num. Chron." N.S. 1873, vol. xiii. p. 194.

[92] See under VII. Mite.

[93] Rev. C. E. Stowe, in Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," ar[illegible]. Money-changer. Castell in his lexicon at the word קלב say[illegible], "The change (*collybus*) or the loss in changing a coin is an obolus of silver" ("Rev. Num." 1858, p. 364; Madden, "Jew. Coinage," p. 241).

[94] "Das Münz-Mass und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien," Berlin, 1866, p. 292.

make it a *copper* coin, and takes it to be equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ a χαλκοῦς, and therefore worth about $\frac{1}{16}$ of an obol, or $\frac{1}{96}$ of the drachm.[95] This theory I consider quite out of the question. The κόλλυβος, if a coin, was the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol; and another proof of it being a *silver* coin is, that it is not at all probable, as we know the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol was called χαλκοῦς, that the word κόλλυβος would be applied to the same coin.

3. The word κέρμα, from κείρω, "to cut off," is very rare in the singular. It will be noticed that in St. John the expression is τὸ κέρμα.

To "change a drachm" was called κερματίζω, and the change itself κέρματα.[96]

No coin was called by this name.

The money-changers sat in the courts of the Temple[97] on the 25th of Nizan for the purpose of exchanging foreign money for Jewish, as the Temple tax could only be paid in this latter coin. The κοδράντης of the New Testament

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[95] Theophylact (Archbishop of Bulgaria, A.D. 1071) says, "Κόλλυβος λέγεται τὸ λεπτὸν νόμισμα παρ' Ἕλλησιν, ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι νοῦμμον (*nummum*) ὀνομάζουσι," evidently alluding to the smallest copper coin (weighing 19 grains) of the time of Justinian (A.D. 527—565), called *denarius nummus* or *libella* (Mommsen, "Hist. de la Mon. Rom." vol. iii. pp. 107—109, 165; vol. iv. p. 111, Pl. XL. No. 9), and being one-twelfth of the silver *siliqua*. See under IV. Penny.

[96] Hussey, "Weights and Money," p. 50. Money-changing was called κερματισμός (Olympiod. "in Plat.").

[97] It has been suggested (Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Nehemiah) that the "goldsmiths" who repaired the vessels of the Temple (Nehem. iii. 8) are perhaps the prototypes of the money-changers in the Temple. They are designated in the LXX. οἱ χαλκεῖς (Vulg. *aurifices*; cf. Hom. "Od." iii. 432). In the New Testament (2 Tim. iv. 14) Alexander the *copper-smith* (ὁ χαλκεὺς) is mentioned.

was not $\frac{1}{8}$ of the obol, but must have been whatever the smallest piece of money was, in all probability the *quadrans* weighing 30 grains.[98] They also seem to have acted as bankers, money being placed in their hands for the purpose of increasing it, and on which interest was paid (Matt. xxv. 27; Luke xix. 23).

To lend on usury (τόκος) to a brother Israelite was strictly forbidden (Exod. xxii. 25; Levit. xxv. 36, 37; Deut. xxiii. 19), but was permissible to a stranger (Deut. xxiii. 20), and appears to have been practised during the Captivity, though it was considered an abomination (Prov. vi. 1,[99] xi. 15, etc.; Ps. xv. 5; Jer. xv. 10; Ezek. xxii. 12, xviii. 13; cf. Jos. "circ. Ap." ii. 28).

After the return from the Captivity, the Jews were required by Nehemiah to leave off usury. "Restore I pray you to them even this day their lands, their vineyards, their olive-yards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them" (Nehem. v. 11), which he further compelled them to confirm by oath (ver. 12).

In the New Testament period "lending" was not objected to, provided it was done "hoping for nothing again" (Luke vi. 35; cf. Matt. v. 42). The system, however, pursued by the money-changers in the Temple must have been a vicious one, for our Lord, when he overthrew their tables, exclaimed, "My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a

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[98] See under VI. Farthing.

[99] The Hebrew word here used for surety is עֲרֻבָּה from עָרַב "to give in pledge," and from עֵרָבוֹן "a pledge," has come the Greek ἀῤῥαβών (see 2 Cor. i. 22; v. 5; Eph. i. 14), and the Latin *arrhabo* or *arrha*—money given to ratify a contract,—a deposit.

den of thieves" (Matt. xxi. 13; Mark xi. 17; Luke xix. 46; cf. Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11).

X. *Treasury, or Treasure:—*

This term is used in the Authorised Version of the New Testament as the translation of three different words:—

1. Γαζοφυλάκιον, *gazophylacium* (Mark xii. 41, 43; Luke xxi. 1; John viii. 20), from γάζα, "a treasure," and φυλάσσω, "to keep."

The word Γάζα (Heb. גִּנְזִי, גִּנְזָךְ), which occurs in this sense in Acts viii. 27, is employed frequently in the Old Testament for "treasures," or "treasure-house" (Ezra v. 17, vi. 1, vii. 20;[100] Esther iii. 9 [LXX. γαζοφυλάκιον], iv. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 24 [A. V. "chests"]; 1 Chron. xxviii. 11 [LXX. ζακχῶν;[101] Vulg. *cellariorum*]).

The officer who had charge of the treasures—the treasurer—was named גִּזְבָּר (Ezra i. 8; LXX. Γαρβαρήνος; Vulg. *Gazabar;* cf. Ezra vii. 21; גְּדָבְרִין, Dan. iii. 2, 3)

Gaza is not a Hebrew but a Persian word.[102] Canon Rawlinson says:[103] "The term does not occur in inscriptions; but there can be little doubt that it existed . . . . Originally the pronunciation was probably rather *ganza* than *gaza*, the Persians being in the habit of inserting the sound of *n* before the dentals *d*, *t*, and *z*, although they did not write it. As the Hebrews had no such

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[100] Josephus ("Antiq." xi. 5, 1) in recording the circumstances mentioned in this chapter uses the word γαζοφυλάκιον for the "king's treasury."

[101] This word appears to be a transliteration of the Hebrew גַּנְזַכִּים from גִּנְזָךְ.

[102] "*Gaza*, sic Persæ ærarium vocant."—Pomp. Mela i. 11, 3; "pecunia regia, quam *gazam* Persæ vocant."—Curt. iii. 13.

[103] "Speaker's Com." vol. iii. p. 424.

practice, they naturally supplied the *n* and expressed the Persian by *genez* גֶּנֵז (Esther), or *g'naz*, גְּנַז (Ezra). . . . . The Persian word for "treasurer" would be *ganzabára*, and the Hebrew literation *gizbár* follows the Persian very closely." [104]

This treasury-chamber appears to have been a place where people came to offer their charity-money for the repairs and other uses of the Temple, and it was probably here that Agrippa I. hung up the golden chain which had been given him by Caius in exchange for the iron one with which he had been previously bound.[105] Dr. Lange, in commenting on the passage in St. Mark, says: [106] "The sacrifice fund is meant, which was distinguished from the proper Temple treasury. The Rabbis tell us that the treasury consisted of thirteen brazen chests (שׁוֹפָרוֹת, 'trumpets,' certainly not because the chests were trumpet-shaped, but because the mouths through which the money was cast into the chests were wide at the top and narrow below). They stood in the outer court of the women. This offering fund received also the voluntary gifts for the Temple. Lightfoot, "Heb." 'nine chests were for the appointed Temple-tribute and for the sacrifice tribute (that is, money-gifts, instead of the sacrifice); four chests for free-will offerings, for wood, incense, Temple decoration, and burnt-offerings.'"

The expression, "when thou doest thine alms do not sound a trumpet [μὴ σαλπίσῃς] before thee" (Matt. vi. 2) has been thought by some to refer to the clinking of the

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[104] The Persian etymology is not, however, considered convincing, and it is thought that the word is to be explained as a Semitic formation borrowed from the Persians by their Semitic neighbours ("Speaker's Com." vol. vi. p. 247).

[105] Joseph. "Antiq." xix. 6, 1.

[106] "Com. on St. Mark," vol. iii. p. 430 of Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 1862.

money in the chest, which is therefore supposed to have been of the shape of a trumpet.[107]

Γαζοφυλάκιον (*ærarium*), for "treasury," is also employed in the Maccabees (1 Maccab. xiv. 49; 2 Maccab. v. 18), but in Nehem. x. 37 (38), and xiii. 4, 5, it is used for one of the "chambers" of the house of God (Heb. לִשְׁכָּה), and for "chamber" simply in Neh. iii. 30; "chambers for the treasures" in Neh. xii. 44, and in Neh. xiii. 7, for "chamber in the house of God" (Heb. נִשְׁכָּה).

The Vulgate employs the word *gazophylacium* for the "chest" in which Jehoiada collected the money for the repairs of the Temple, rendered in the Hebrew by אָרוֹן, and by the LXX. κιβωτός (2 Kings xii. 9, 10), but in the parallel passage (2 Chron. xxiv. 8—11), though the Hebrew is the same, the LXX. has γλωσσόκομον,[108] and the Vulgate *arca*.

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[107] The late Rev. W. A. Haddan (Smith, "Dict. of Christian Antiq." *s. v.* Alms), quoting from Le Mogne ("Not. in Var. Sac." ii. 75) and Deyling ("Observ. Sac." iii. 175), accepts the view that alms were put into certain trumpet-shaped alms-boxes in the Temple called γαζοφυλάκια, distinct from the γαζοφυλάκιον or treasury of St. Luke xxi. 1. Some trumpet-shaped objects occur on the coins of Bar-cochab (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 207, 208; "Num. Chron." N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 325). Perhaps some would wish to consider these as money-chests, but it seems more preferable to suppose them to be trumpets, recalling the two silver ones made by Moses (LXX. σάλπιγξ; Numb. x. i; βυκάνη, Jos. "Antiq." iii. 12, 6) and the "holy trumpets" (ταῖς ἱεραῖς σάλπιγξι), at the sound of which Cendebæus was put to flight under Simon Maccabæus (1 Maccab. xvi. 8). Originally there were only *two* made, but Josephus ("Antiq." viii. 3, 8) says that Solomon made 200,000 trumpets, according to the command of Moses! The two trumpets are represented on the arch of Titus (Lewin, "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 320). These coins are quoted in Kitto ("Cyc. of Bibl. Lit." vol. iii. pp. 256, 257) for representations of a *drum*, and are spoken of as coins ascribed to Simon Maccabæus!

[108] Josephus ("Antiq." vi. i. 2) has this word for the small coffer in which the Philistines put the golden mice and emerods

The Hebrew אָרוֹן is also used for the "coffin" into which Joseph was put in Egypt (Gen. l. 16), rendered by the LXX. σορὸς, and by the Vulg. *loculus*. It is, however, most frequently used of the "ark of the covenant." For the term κιβωτός, which is employed in the LXX., both for the "ark of the covenant" and for "Noah's ark" (Heb. תֵּבָה)—see my paper "On the Coins with the Legend ΝΩΕ, representing Noah and his wife within an Ark."[109]

2. Κορβανᾶς, *corbona* (Matt. xxvii. 6), the sacred treasure of the Jews, and so designated by Josephus.[110] It is apparently derived from the Hebrew קָרְבָּן, *korban*. This latter word occurs only once in the New Testament (Mark vii. 11), where it is explained, Κορβᾶν, ὅ ἐστι δῶρον, a *gift*.[111] Josephus gives the same explanation,[112] and adds that those who are desirous of freeing themselves from the ministration to God, are to give thirty shekels if a woman, fifty shekels if a man. The same author, quoting Theophrastus, speaks of *Korban* as an oath of Tyrian [or Phœnician] custom, which oath, he adds, is only found *among the Jews*, and signifies "a gift to God."[113]

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when they carried away the ark (1 Sam. vi. 8, 11, 15, Heb. אַרְגָּז, LXX. θέμα, Vulg. *capsella*). It is used by St. John (xii. 6; xiii. 29) for the "bag" carried by Judas Iscariot. For θέμα (treasure) see Tobit iv. 9; cf. θεμέλιον, 1 Tim. vi. 19.

[109] "Num. Chron." N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 209.

[110] Τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν, καλεῖται δὲ Κορβανᾶς. "Bell. Jud." ii. 9, 4.

[111] The exact meaning of this passage, as well as of the corresponding one (Matt. xv. 5) is not easy of interpretation (Kitto, "Encyc. of Bibl. Lit." ed. Alexander, and Smith, "Dict. of the Bible, *s. v.* Corban).

[112] Καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ Θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν. "Antiq." iv. 4, 4.

[113] Δηλοῖ δ', ὡς ἄν εἴποι, τις ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μεθερμηνευόμενος διαλέκτου, δῶρον Θεοῦ. Joseph. "Contra Ap." i. 22.

The word *Korban* (קָרְבָּן) is used with *Minha* (מִנְחָה), lit. "a gift," but employed in books of Moses (cf. Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6), principally for "unbloody sacrifices" (LXX. δῶρον θυσία, προσφορά). *Minha* has other meanings.[114] With respect to *Korban*, the Rev. Dr. Barry says:[115] "The idea of a gift hardly seems inherent in the root, which rather points to sacrifice as a symbol of communion or covenant between God and man."

As to δῶρον in the New Testament, it principally means "gifts in general" (Matt. ii. 11), "sacrificial gifts" (Matt. v. 23, 24; Heb. v. 1, xi. 4), "gifts of God to man" (Eph. ii. 8), "of man to man" (Rev. xi. 10), but it is also used of gifts to the "treasury" (Luke xxi. 1), and in one case appears to mean the "treasury itself" (εἰς τὰ δῶρα, Luke xxi. 4).

3. Θησαυρὸς, *thesaurus*.

A. As the "treasure house" (Matt. ii. 11; xiii. 52).

B. As the "treasure" (Matt. vi. 19, 20, xii. 35, xiii. 44, xix. 21; Mark x. 21; Luke vi. 45, xii. 33, xviii. 22; 2 Cor. iv. 7; Coloss. ii. 3; Heb. xi. 26).

The word is used in the LXX. as the translation of the Hebrew אוֹצָר, meaning either "the treasures of God" (Deut. xxviii. 12; xxxii. 34), or "a store-house for corn" (1 Chron. xxvii. 27), or "a treasury for gold and silver," etc. (Josh. vi. 19; 1 Kings vii. 51; Neh. x. 39, xii. 44 [treasure], xiii. 12, etc.).

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

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[114] E. Deutsch, Kitto, "Encyc. of Bibl. Lit." *s. v.* Gift.
[115] Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," *s. v.* Sacrifice.

APPENDICES.

A. Weights.

No great advance has been made on the subject of Hebrew weights since the exhaustive article by Mr. R. S. Poole published in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible,"[1] and reproduced in my "Jewish Coinage."[2] A revised table of ancient metric systems has since been made by Mr. Poole, which was placed at the disposal of Mr. Thomas.[3] At the same time it must be added that there is no doubt great difficulty in Hebrew metrology. Mr. Conder, who has written a series of papers on "Jewish Weights and Measures,"[4] and who therein offers some entirely new views, is of opinion that there is reliable information to be found in Hebrew literature, and quoting Maimonides, takes the statement that the Jewish silver shekel had the weight of three hundred average-sized grains of barley taken from the middle of the ear, which will be found identical with the grains of Troy weight, and that the shekel of 320 grains Troy contains exactly 100 carats diamond weight.

The views put forward by Mr. Conder rather make obscurity more obscure, for from numismatic evidence it is certain that the Jews never used any other shekel than the coin weighing 220 grains.[5]

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[1] Art. "Money."

[2] P. 249. In 1868 Mr. A. S. Murray published ("Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. viii. p. 57) several additional specimens of Greek weights acquired by the British Museum from the collections of Mr. Merlin, Mr. Woodhouse, and the Duke de Blacas.

[3] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 52, *note* 21; "Ancient Indian Weights," p. 18, *note* 4, in the new edition of Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia."

[4] "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 69, etc. See Appendix D., Nos. 52 and 58.

[5] See Appendix D., No. 55.

The Babylonian and Assyrian weights which were published in my "Jewish Coinage," and other ancient Babylonian and Egyptian weights of various forms in the British Museum, have been carefully reweighed under the direction of the Warden of the Standards[6]; and a highly instructive and extremely interesting paper by Mr. B. V. Head, entitled "Metrological Notes on the Ancient Electrum Coins struck between the Lelantian Wars and the Accession of Darius"[7] treats of the derivation and development of the Greek weight systems from the heavy and light Babylonian minæ, and gives to English Numismatists the results arrived at by the late Dr. Brandis[8] on this important question.

B. Writing.

Since the publication of my book, the famous Moabite stone, dating from about B.C. 900, was found at Dhiban on the 19th of August, 1868, by the Rev. F. A. Klein. It has been published by many scholars, both foreign and English.[9]

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[6] "Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards on the Proceedings and Business of the Standard Weights and Measures Department of the Board of Trade," p. 44. London, 1875.

[7] "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1875, vol. xv. p. 245.

[8] "Das Münz-Mass und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien." Berlin, 1866.

[9] Clermont Ganneau, "La Stèle de Dhiban," in the "Rev. Arch.," 1870, p. 184; Ganneau et de Vogüé, "Inscription de Mèsa, Roi de Moab." Paris, 1870; Durenbourg, in the "Journal Asiatique," 1870; Deutsch, in the *Times*, March 8, 1870; Dr. Ginsburg, "Moabite Stone," 1870; Canon Rawlinson, in the "Contemporary Review," vol. xv. p. 96, August, 1870; Dr. Wright, in the "North British Review," October, 1870; Professor Davidson, in the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," February, 1871; Edward Thomas, in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 202; Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh, "The Moabite Stone," Dublin, 1872; F. Lenormant, "Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde," vol. i. pp. 128, 144. Paris, 1872; Captain Burton and Tyrrwhitt Drake, "Unexplored Syria," vol. i. p. 335; "Our Work in Palestine,"—"Palestine Exploration Fund," p. 258, 1873; Canon Rawlinson, in the "Bible Educator," vol. i. p. 124, 1874; etc. etc.

C. Errata in the "History of Jewish Coinage."

Page i., *note* 2. Dr. Hermann Adler has kindly pointed out to me that the commentary of Hai Gaon (on the sixth order of the Mishna, Tohoroth) was published in a collection of several writings of Gaonim, which appeared in Berlin, under the title of קובץ מעשי ידי גאונים קדמונים.

Page iii., *note* 6. For "'Annali dell Inst.,'" etc., *read* "first vol. of the second series of the 'Opuscoli Religiosi, Letterari e Morali,' Modena."

Page 29, *note* 8. For "six letters, **M, C H, B, A , I,**" *read* "four letters, **M, CH, B, I.**"

Page 32, line 4. For "B.C. 162," *read* "B.C. 164."

Page 46, *note* 3. The coin alluded to in this note is the same as the one published in the "Num. Chron." N.S., 1862, vol. ii. p. 268, and there stated to be plated. It is of copper, partly covered with red oxide (Cf. "Num. Chron." N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 175).

Page 57, *note* 9. For חבו *read* חבר.

Page 100, *note* 8. For "Matt. xvi." read "Matt. xiv."

Page 152, *note* 9. For "Gruter" *read* "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum."

Page 168, line 1. For [לחו[רת *read* [לחר[ות.

Page 202, *note* 5. For "vol. iii." *read* "vol. ii." Dele "and a half."

Page 207, No. 7. For "Jerusalem" *read* "Israel."

Page 207, *note* 3. For "vol. iii." read "vol. ii."

Page 211, *note* 3. For "Ann. xxx." *read* "Ann. xx."

Page 245 and elsewhere. For λέπτον *read* λεπτόν.

Page 248, *note* 5. For 17 *read* 7, and for 8 *read* 1.

Page 276, line 10. For 740 *read* 741.

D. List of Works and Papers in connection with Jewish Numismatics Published since 1849.

1 (**1849**). C. Cavedoni, "Numismatica Biblica o sia Dichiarazioni delle Monete Antiche Memorate nelle Sante Scritture," in the "Memorie di Religione, di Morale et di Letteratura," III., ix. pp. 321—356. Modena.

(1850). C. Cavedoni, "Numismatica Biblica," etc., in the "Mem. Rel." III., x. pp. 5—59; 293—335; xi. pp. 5—25. Modena.

Nos. 1 and 2 were translated into German in 1855. See . 10. They were published as a separate volume at Modena 1850.

(1853). F. De Saulcy, "Sur les monnaies de cuivre frappées à Jérusalem par l'ordre des gouverneurs Romains de la Judée, depuis le règne d'Auguste jusqu'à celui de Néron," in the "Revue Numismatique," p. 186.

(1854). Rev. H. J. Rose, "On the Jewish Shekel," in the "Numismatic Chronicle," O.S., vol. xvi. p. 89.

(1854). F. De Saulcy, "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque." Paris.

(1855). C. Cavedoni, "Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica," and "Postilla all' Appendice" in the "Mem. Rel." III., xviii. pp. 180—248, 455—456.

Translated into German in 1856. See No. 11.

(1855). F. De Saulcy, "On Jewish Coins," in the "Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athénæum Français" for January, p. 5.

(1855). C. Cavedoni, "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque by F. de Saulcy" in the "Bulletino Archeologico Napoletano," N.S., No. 65, pp. 113—120; No. 68, pp. 137—142, and "Postilla all' Articolo suddetto" in *op. cit.* No. 73, p. 177. Naples.

These are reviews of M. De Saulcy's work, No. 5..

(1855). Professor Ewald, "Reviews of M. De Saulcy's Work" in the "Gött. gel. Anz." No. 65, v. 25, pp. 641—655, and in the "Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen," No. 8, v. 26.

(1855). A. von Werlhof, "Biblische Numismatik oder Erklärung der in der heil. Schrift erwähnten alten Münzen von D. Celestino Cavedoni." Hannover.

This is a German translation of Cavedoni's works Nos. 1 and . At pp. 159—162 there are some additional observations on

§ 8 of the second chapter, which are not in the original Italian.

11 (1856). A. von Werlhof, "Biblische Numismatik, etc. Zweiter Theil." Hannover.

This is a German translation of Cavedoni's works, No. 6. It contains an excellent preface by the Translator.

12 (1857[10]). F. De Saulcy, "Observations sur la Numismatique Judaïque apropos du Mémoire de M. l'Abbé Cavedoni 'Appendice alla Numismatica Biblica.' Modena, 1855," in the "Revue Numismatique," p. 280.

This is an examination by M. de Saulcy of Cavedoni's work, No. 6.

13 (1858). C. Cavedoni, "Nuove osservazioni intorno alla Numismatica Giudaica" in the "Bull. Arch. Nap.," N.S., No. 140, pp. 122—127. Naples.

These are further observations on the work of De Saulcy, No. 5.

14 (1858). John Evans, "Review of De Saulcy's 'Numismatique Judaïque'" in the "Numismatic Chronicle," O.S., vol. xx. p. 8.

15 (1860). M. De Vogüé, "Monnaies Juives. Éléazar" in the "Rev. Num." p. 280.

16 (1862). Dr. Levy, "Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen." Breslau.

17 (1862). Rev. Churchill Babington, "Description of some Unpublished Jewish Coins" in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. ii. p. 64.

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[10] In this year Cavedoni wrote, "I libri santi illustrati e difesi co' riscontri delle medaglie antiche. Articoli III.," in the "Op. Rel." I. i. pp. 5—43, 161—192, 321—343; ii. pp. 58—103, 449—452, which was published as a separate work. I have not seen a copy. (See "Notizie intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Monsignor Celestino Cavedoni," p. 85, No. 178. Modena, 1866.)

18 (1862). Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Inedited Coins of Judæa" in the "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. ii. p. 268.

19 (1863). C. Cavedoni, "Nuovi studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche" in the "Opuscoli Religiosi Letterarii e Morali" II. i. pp. 161—192. Modena.

This is a review by Cavedoni of Dr. Levy's work, No. 16. Translated into German in 1866. See No. 34.

20 (1863). R. S. Poole, "Money," in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible."

21 (1863). Noel Humphreys, "The First Jewish Shekels" in the "Intellectual Observer," p. 328.

To the numerous errors in this paper I called public attention in the "Reader" of December 12th, 1863, and January 2nd, 1864.

22 (1864). F. W. Madden, "On the Jewish Coins which bear the name of Simon," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. iv. p. 17.

23 (1864). F. W. Madden, "History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments."

24 (1864). Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Remarks on Some Jewish Coins, etc.," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. iv. p. 174.

25 (1864). F. De Saulcy, "Nouvelles Observations sur la Numismatique Judaïque apropos du livre intitulé 'History of Jewish Coinage,' par F. W. Madden," in the "Rev. Num.," N.S., vol. ix. p. 370.

26 (1865). F. De Saulcy, "Lettre à M. J. De Witte sur la Numismatique Judaïque" in the "Rev. Num.," N.S., vol. x. p. 29.

This is a continuation of No. 25.

27 (1865). F. W. Madden, "Remarks in Reply to the New Observations on Jewish Numismatics by M. F. De Saulcy" in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. v. p. 191.

28 (1865). Dr. C. L. Grotefend, "Review of the History of Jewish Coinage by F. W. Madden" in the "Jährbucher

des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande," vol. xxxix. and xl., p. 289.

29 (1865). F. W. Madden, "Additional Observations on the Jewish Coinage" in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. v. p. 342.

30 (1865). C. Cavedoni, "Le Principali Questioni riguardanti la Numismatica Giudaica diffinitivamente decise" in the "Op. Rel." II. v. pp. 112—119, 177—191.

This is a review of Madden's "History of Jewish Coinage," No. 23.

31 (1865). Raffaele Garrucci, "Monete delle due Rivolte Giudaiche," in the "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 31. Rome.

32 (1865) Thomas Lewin, "Fasti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament."

This contains notices of Jewish Coins to illustrate the dates.

33 (1866). F. W. Madden, "Coins of the two Revolts of the Jews," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

34 (1866). A. von Werlhof, "Neuere Untersuchungen über die antiken Judischen Münzen von C. Cavedoni" in the "Münzstudien, herausgegeben von H. Grote," vol. v. pp. 9—37. Leipzig.

This is a German translation of No. 19.

35 (1866). Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Ueber die Münzen Simons des Makkabäerfürsten" in the "Wien Numism. Monatshefte von Dr. Egger."

36 (1866). F. De Saulcy, "Réponse à la Note Critique de M. Madden inserée dans le Numismatic Chronicle. Lettre à M. Alexandre Bertrand," in the "Revue Archéologique," N.S., vol. v. p. 326.

From this by no means complimentary essay I have introduced a few quotations in this "Supplement."

37 (1867). R. S. Poole, "Remarks on the staters of the Ptolemies," in the "Num. Chron." N.S., vol. vii. p. 161.

38 (1867). Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "On a Coin of Alexandra"

in the "Wiener Num. Monatshefte von Dr. Egger," vol. iii. p. 111, Pl. IV. No. 2.

This paper I have not seen, but Mr. B. V. Head has kindly given me a note of its contents. Mr. Reichardt, after alluding to my objection to the existence of a coin of Alexandra, writes, "Fortunately, my collection contains another example, upon which the ΛΙΣ is quite clear," and he engraves the obverse with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝ . . . Dr. Merzbacher, who has seen an impression of this piece from which he has caused a drawing to be made,[11] has no hesitation in accepting the validity of the coin or the correctness of the reading, and considers that this piece—if no other—clearly proves that Queen Alexandra struck coins. If this, is, therefore, really a piece of Alexandra the queen, my remarks in § II. E. will require modification; but time will show.[12]

39 (1868). Rev. John Kenrick, "Jewish Coins and Hebrew Palæography," in the "Theological Review," No. xxi., April, p. 244.

This is a review of Madden's "Jewish Coinage," No. 28.

40 (1868). F. De Saulcy, "Étude Chronologique des Livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie." Paris.

It is in this publication, as I have already pointed out (see § I. and VIII.) that De Saulcy attributes the shekels and half-shekels to the time of Ezra.

41 (1869). F. De Saulcy, "Étude Chronologique de la Vie et des Monnaies des Rois Juifs Agrippa Ier. et Agrippa II." in the "Mémoires de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie," p. 26. Paris.

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[11] "Zeitschrift für Num.," 1876, vol. iii. p. 201, Pl. IV. No. 54.

[12] Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeits. f. Num." 1876, vol. iii. p. 185, *note* 1) calls attention to a work by A. Hager entitled "Die Münzen der Bibel" (Stuttgart, 1868), but adds that he only names it to warn people from using it. I have not seen it.

42 (**1869**). F. De Saulcy, "Note sur quelques Monnaies d'Ascalon, frappées pendant le règne d'Hérode, puis par Salomé sa sœur, et par Archelaüs," in the "Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie," vol. iii., 2nd part, p. 253. "Note sur les Monnaies de Philippe le Tétrarque," in *op. cit.* p. 262. "Numismatique de Tibériade," in *op. cit.* p. 266. Paris.

These three articles are dated March, 1872, though appearing in the volume of the "Annuaire" for 1869.

43 (**1870**). F. W. Madden, "Money" in Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," ed. Rev. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.

44 (**1871**). Rev. H. C. Reichardt, "Three remarkable coins of the Kings Agrippa I. and II." in the "Numismatiche Zeitschrift" Drittes Jahrgang (Januar—Jun), p. 83. Wien.

45 (**1871**). F. De Saulcy, "Catalogue Raisonné de Monnaies Judaïques recueillies à Jérusalem en Novembre, 1869," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xi. p. 235.

46 (**1872**). F. W. Madden, "Jewish Coins," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xii. p. 1.

This is an examination of De Saulcy's paper, No. 45.

47 (**1872**). François Lenormant, "Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien monde." Paris.

Of this work there are at present published vol. i., Première livraison, 1872; vol. i., Seconde livraison, 1873, and vol. ii., Première livraison, 1873.

In it (vol. i. pp. 176, 186) the attribution by M. De Saulcy of the shekels and half-shekels to the time of Ezra is absolutely adopted.

48 (**1873**). Ernest Renan, "L'Antichrist." Paris.

Incidental notices of Jewish coins may be found at pp. 273, *note*, 496, 532, and 538.

49 (**1873**). Dr. Eugen Merzbacher, "De siclis, nummis antiquiss. Jud. diss. inaug." Berol.

This work I have not seen.

50 (**1874**). THOMAS LEWIN, "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," two vols., first edition, 1874; third edition, 1875.

In this valuable and interesting work Jewish coins are frequently alluded to, and many of the woodcuts are taken from my book on the "Jewish Coinage" (see the "Athenæum," Jan. 23 and Jan. 30, 1875).

51 (**1874**). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Coins and Money of the Bible" in the "Sunday at Home," pp. 68, 117, 197, 260, 308, and 388.

52 (**1874**). F. R. CONDER, "Measures, Weights, and Coins of the Bible" in the "Bible Educator," vol. ii. pp. 10, 69, 96, 97, 175, 177, 180, 222, 238, 239, 241, 330, 331, 347, 349, 361, 362; vol. iii. pp. 27, 180.

See § I., Shekels and Half-shekels, and No. 58.

53 (**1874**). F. DE SAULCY, "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte." Paris.

This valuable work by M. De Saulcy treats of the coins of the towns of the Holy Land. It has not come within my province to carefully examine the whole volume, but the chapters relating to the coins of "Jerusalem" and of "Ælia Capitolina" have been under my notice, and I much regret to say that they show signs of hasty writing and inaccuracy. It would be unfair to judge of the work by these two chapters alone, and I may be allowed to express the hope that the other portions are written with greater care.

54 (**1874**). "THE ACADEMY." Anonymous article on "Spurious Hebrew Coins," September 5; letters of Mr. W. Besant and Mr. J. Evans on the same subject, September 12; letter of Mr. F. R. Conder, September 19; letter of Mr. J. Evans, October 24; letter of Mr. F. R. Conder, October 31.

This correspondence relates, as I have already mentioned (§ I., *note* 48a), to the hoard of Jewish shekels found near Jericho, which Mr. Conder attempted to show were modern

forgeries; but his aspersions were proved by Mr. W. Besant and Mr. J. Evans to be totally unfounded. Dr. Merzbacher ("Zeit. für Num." p. 144, Berlin, 1875) in alluding to this find, from which he says he has himself procured several wonderfully preserved pieces, writes, "A second *Tychsen* has been discovered, thanks to the praiseworthy energies of Messrs. Evans and Madden."

55 (1874). "THE ATHENÆUM." Letter of Mr. F. R. Conder on "Hebrew Metrology," December 12, and answer to the same by Mr. B. V. Head, December 26.

Mr. Head shows that the Rabbinical distinction between the Mosaic and later shekel is altogether fallacious, and that there is absolutely no evidence that the Jews ever used any other coin shekel than that weighing 220 grains.

56 (1874). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Numismatics; being a Supplement to the 'History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments,' published in 1864," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xiv. p. 281.

57 (1875). F. W. MADDEN, "Jewish Numismatics, etc.," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xv. pp. 41, 101, 169, and 298.

These papers are in continuation of No. 56.

58 (1875). "THE JEWISH CHRONICLE." Review of Parts I. and II. of my papers on "Jewish Numismatics," September 10, p. 881. [See Nos. 56 and 57.]

The writer of this review, in examining the theories put forth by Mr. Conder, as shown in my paper (§ I.) speaks of the "extraordinary nature of his unfounded assertions," and of the "dogmatic, authoritative tone of his statements," which might carry away the general reader unless controverted.

It will be interesting to give the remarks in full, as showing the views that the Jews themselves hold as regards Mr. Conder's interpretations.

"Mr. F. R. Conder, in a series of papers on 'Measures, Weights, and Coins of the Bible,' contributed by him to the 'Bible Educator,' takes exception to the renderings generally given to the inscriptions found on some ancient Hebrew shekels ("Bible Ed.," vol. iii. p. 176). In some of these inscriptions we meet with the word שמעו or שמענו, which numismatists take for שמעון (Simon), the name of the prince, or at least the person, by or for whom the coins were struck. But this simple interpretation fails to give satisfaction to Mr. Conder. According to him, it is not a noun proper, but a verb, yet not derived from שמע (he has heard), but from some nondescript word which means 'coin.' And he has the boldness to find this coin in Gen. xxiii. 15, which he renders, 'My lord, the land is *worth to me* four hundred shekels of silver,' instead of, as in the Anglican version, 'My lord, *hearken unto me*, the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver.' Now the Hebrew word in the rendering of which (given by us in italics) Mr. Conder differs from the Anglican version is שמעני, a root which occurs hundreds of times in the Bible, and never, as is clear from the contexts, has or can have any other signification save that of attending, hearing, listening, or hearkening. In the very chapter under consideration detailing the conversation between Abraham and the Children of Heth, and subsequently Abraham and Ephron the Hittite, this word occurs no less than six times. It is, therefore, but reasonable to infer that if this root in ver. 15 has the meaning given to it by Mr. Conder, 'is worth to me,' it must have the same meaning in ver. 18, part and parcel of the same conversation. Its rendering therefore, according to Mr. Conder, must be, 'And he (Abraham) spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying: But if thou wouldest only *be worth to me*, (instead of 'hear me,') I will give thee the money for the field.' And again in ver. 11, 'Nay, my lord, *it is worth to me*,' (instead of 'hear me,') 'the field give I thee,' and so on in all other passages where the same root occurs. Will any reader of this chapter allow that the contexts can bear the renderings which Mr. Conder must give the word שמע if he wishes to be consistent? But how did he come to discover what escaped the sagacity of all ancient and modern translators of the Bible, as well as the most industrious and critical lexicographers? Because the Talmud in

some few places mentions a certain coin which it designates שמאשם or שום, therefore, Mr. Conder argues, the Biblical שמע must be identical with the rabbinical שם, and this again with the word שמעו found on the ancient Hebrew shekels. Mr. Conder might just as well argue that גן (a garden) and גנב (a thief) are the same because they have two letters alike, or that our English 'cat' and 'cattle' are identical, because the first syllable of the second word is identical with the first word.

"Again, another word occurring in these inscriptions is לחרות, meaning, 'to the deliverance,' viz., from the oppressor. Now this obvious and consistent rendering does not find favour in the sight of the ingenious Mr. Conder. Some other meaning must be found for it, and this he discovers in Exodus xxxii. 16. In this verse the tables on which the commandments were written are described. The words are, 'And the writing was the writing of God, graven (חרות) upon the tables.' It will be seen that with the exception of the ל, all other letters of the word under discussion in the inscription of the shekel, and that in the verse quoted, rendered 'graven,' are alike. This is quite sufficient evidence for Mr. Conder that the meanings of the two words are identical, and that consequently the word under discussion does not mean 'deliverance,' but 'graven or stamped.' That the two roots may have different vowels and may be derived from different roots does not seem to have occurred to our etymologist. Yet such is the case. The former is an abstract noun with the formative ות of frequent occurrence in the rabbinical writings derived from the root חרר, found both in Biblical Hebrew and in Arabic, meaning to be free or of noble birth, and is pronounced חֵרוּת; the latter is the passive participle of the root חרת, akin to חרש (to engrave), (and the Greek χαρασσω) scores of times found in the Bible, and pronounced חָרוּת.

"Further, instead of לחרות we find sometimes in the inscription לגאלת (to the redemption). This is a noun found over and over again in the Bible, derived from the root גאל (he redeemed), the signification of which is ascertained beyond all doubt, and which being synonymous with חֵרוּת, gives it powerful support. But Mr. Conder has a pet theory. This must be established by

hook or by crook. This theory happens to be incompatible with the ascertained meaning 'redemption.' This theory requires some Hebrew word that might be made to mean 'cycle.' Now גאלת sounds somewhat like גלת, which may be derived from the root גלל (to roll), and may therefore mean cycle, which as known comes from a Greek word which has an analogous signification. By therefore ascribing to the noun גאלת the meaning of the fictitious גלת, Mr. Conder's hypothesis may be triumphantly established. What matter whether true or not? Facts must bend to theories. So Mr. Conder has proved *q. e. d.*, and the 'Bible Educator' has become the medium of enriching Biblical science with a new original discovery."

59 (1876). W. Stanley Jevons, "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." Second edition.

Incidental notices of Jewish coins may be found at pp. 45 and 89.

60 (1876). Dr. Eugen Merzbacher, "Jüdische Sekel," in the "Zeitschrift für Numismatik," vol. iii. p. 141. Berlin.

In this paper, which is the prelude to a series of papers on Jewish coins, the new attribution of the silver shekels and half-shekels is objected to, and principally on the ground that their fabric is not clearly shown to be in reality so ancient that by it it can be proved that they were coined two hundred years before the Maccabæan rule, and that the autonomy of the Jews in the time of Ezra was very far from being independence as a state. Dr. Merzbacher concludes as follows:—"The positive grounds which speak for the old attribution of the shekel to the times of the Maccabees are in my opinion so convincing that I must before all things be convinced of their worthlessness before I can accept another attribution." This is only opinion against opinion.

61 (1876). Dr. Eugen Merzbacher, "Untersuchungen über alt-Hebräische Münzen" in the "Zeitschrift f. Num.," 1876, vol. iii. p. 188. Berlin.

This is the first of the series of papers on "Jewish Numismatics" above alluded to. They are to consist in arranging all that has hitherto been published, and in dealing with the principal differences of opinion, so that the student will be able to recognise what may be considered a common valid result, and what is only based on supposition. The attribution of the silver shekels and half-shekels to the Maccabæan period is adopted, but with no actual reasons given, and much care seems to have been taken in collecting and describing the specimens of the coins of the Asmonæan family. I must wish Dr. Merzbacher every success in his undertaking. When his series of papers is finished, perhaps some English numismatist may be found to give his views to the English public, and thus continue the work on which I have been engaged with much pleasure, and I trust with some beneficial result, for the last twelve years.

62 (**1876**). F. W. Madden, "Jewish Numismatics; being a Supplement to the 'History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments,' published in 1864," in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. xvi. pp. 45, 81, and 177.

These writings are in continuation of Nos. 56 and 57, and the last one embraces these remarks, so concluding this series of papers.

Frederic W. Madden.

X.

INDENTURE PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY RELATING TO CERTAIN FARTHINGS OF JAMES I.

In the course of some accidental researches in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, my attention was called to the papers I have had transcribed, and which I now lay before the Numismatic Society, giving, as I think they do, some interesting confirmatory information with reference to certain copper farthings in circulation towards the end of the reign of James I. That there were coins of this nature is well known, and both Snelling and Ruding have commented on them, but they have spoken, as it seems to me, rather in general terms, and with comparatively few references to documents. For this reason I have thought it worth while to bring under your notice this original indenture, which has not, I believe, been printed anywhere else, or even noticed.

The subject of the copper coinage in England is curious, so far that it shows how long a time it takes to get any old customs changed, even though there may be the most manifest advantages in the proposed alteration. Thus we know that, as a matter of fact, copper coinage was in actual existence, in some form or another, nearly a hundred years before it was placed on its present basis by

Charles II., and that many efforts had been made during this period towards its establishment on a sound and legal basis. Indeed, it must have been felt that the smaller traders in England had a fair right to claim the means of carrying on, by the means of a metallic currency, their often but too scanty businesses. The natural result of this was the extensive issue in various towns and even villages of small copper tokens of a known and recognised value, which were winked at for their general convenience, if not expressly sanctioned by the direct consent of Parliament.

An attempt at something of this kind must have been made even in the reign of Queen Mary, as, in a Proclamation of Sept. 20, 1561 (preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries), we read of "Her Majesty having, as it were, achieved to the victory and conquest of that hideous monster of the brass money," a statement which, of course, implies that such pieces had existed; but whether legally or not, does not matter. It is further clear that the efforts of the Queen were not very successful, for, in 1574, the private tokens of the grocers, vintners, &c., in lead, tin, latten, and leather, had increased to such an extent as to become a nuisance. To meet this, it was proposed to coin halfpence and farthings of base metal, but this went against the tender conscience of Her Majesty; at the same time, it appears to have been felt that, even if so made, of very impure metal, these pieces would still be inconvenient, owing to their small size. Hence it was not unnaturally suggested that the best thing would be to have good penny and halfpenny pieces of simple copper. To this end, we find a proclamation was issued, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS. 698, p. 117, to make current pieces of metal, which were called "pledges,"

or tokens, of pure copper, of the value of the penny and halfpenny. This proclamation Snelling (Append. 1) thinks must have been of a date between 1572 and 1582. But nothing came of this endeavour; so far as we know, no copper was ever struck, at least for circulation, though a die was cut and a few penny and halfpenny patterns were struck off. The farthing has not, I believe, been met with, even as a pattern. Snelling, it is true, gives a plate of the "Pledges for a penny" and "halfpenny," but these are of the date of 1601.

On the other hand, if Gerard Malynes, in his "Lex Mercatoria," is to be trusted, special permissions were, occasionally, granted by the Government of the day under peculiar circumstances. Thus, Bristol was permitted to coin copper tokens that should be current for ten miles round her boundaries, Bristol being, at that time, the most important place of commerce in England after London.

When we come to the reign of James I. we see clearly that the need of the private traders had compelled them to strike farthing tokens in lead, as a proclamation of May 19, 1613, abolishes them, although in the same year the use of similar objects is quasi-legalised, though Government itself still declined to undertake the responsibility of their issue. Thus a patent dated April 10, 1613, grants for three years to John Harrington, Baron of Exeter, his executors, administrators, &c., the power "to make a competent quantity of farthing tokens of copper," with a further agreement that he should pay into the Exchequer any "benefits" (*i.e.* profits) that shall arise during the three years over and above £20,000. These tokens were, however, refused by some counties, as Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Flint, and Denbigh.

In 1614 this patent was confirmed to his widow, Lord Harrington having died; but, about the middle of the year, on June 28, 1614, Lady Harrington appears to have given it up, and to have been succeeded in the working of it by Lodewiche, Duke of Lennox; Edward Woodward and Thomas Garrett, of London, goldsmiths, being ordered to make the tokens. And similar orders were issued for Ireland on Sept. 28, 1622.

"This," says Snelling, "is the last we hear of this affair during this reign."

The document I have found in the Bodleian Library, however, shows the continuation of the leasing out to certain parties of the manufacture of these tokens for at least two years later, as it is an acquittal, under the hand of the Duchess of Lennox, to the same Thomas Garrett, of all moneys due to her on the condition of his paying her down the sum of £300. Besides this acquitment there is a list of the debts due, arranged under the heads of "Good debts," "Hopeful debts," and "Doubtful debts," which is so far curious that it shows what small sums were accepted as subscriptions to make up the total of what was wanted.

It is clear that, though of much use in the large towns, this coinage of tokens was not altogether popular, as in 1616—7 we find a further proclamation "owing to the unwillingness of the people to accept the new money." As it bears on this subject, I am tempted to quote from Snelling (p. 7) an amusing letter preserved in the Harleian MSS. 251, from Gerard Malynes, who, in a tract of his called "The Maintenance of Free Trade" (Lond., 8vo, 1622), claims to have been the inventor of the farthing tokens, and who was, at an earlier period, Lord Harrington's contractor. It is addressed to the Duke of

Lennox, who had tried to buy the patent from Lord Harrington. The words are :—

"It is his (the duke's) offer of paying £400 in the same time as he was to pay Lord Harrington £300 was imaginary, as both payments depended on the quantity of tokens issued, which, he apprehends, he can increase more than they, and which requires great policy and cunning to perform. He then recites some of the methods he had hitherto used to perform the same; as, first, he had found means to dissolve the combination among the chandlers of London who had resolved to refuse the tokens, and was in hopes of doing the same in other parts of the kingdom; secondly, in giving 21*s*. in farthings for 20*s*. sterling; thirdly, in recharging them; fourthly, in the neat minting of them, to satisfy the subject of the difficulty of counterfeiting of them; fifthly, in a proper choice of deputies, whose dexterity consisted mostly in their pleasing manner of issuing them, and which would be more distasteful if done by the duke's officers as deputy alnager; sixthly, giving tradesmen three or four months' credit to disperse them, which, seventhly, encouraged them to give credit to their customers, and so on to others; eighthly, in giving instructions, properly timed, to the deputies how to act between the retailers and their customers; ninthly, by changing farthing tokens for commodities not very saleable in England, which commodities were afterwards exported; tenthly, several foreign merchants who were used to such small coins were engaged to give assistance; eleventhly, to exchange these tokens for foreign coins in gold and silver and clipped ryals of plate; and, lastly, the usurers were themselves to be dealt with to forward their utterance."

There can be no doubt that all these schemes were, in

fact, dodges, and discreditable ones, to get money for King James's own use. Snelling gives details of what the King hoped to make by these transactions. By one of these it was agreed that the King "should receive half the profit every quarter without his being at any charge." The clear profit, in this instance, is said to have been £60,000, and the King graciously gave Lord Harrington £20,000.

The indenture from the Bodleian Library is as follows:—

TO ALL CHRISTIAN people to whome these presents Indented shall come the Right noble Princess ffrancis Duchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox Administratrix to the right noble prince Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lenox her late Lord and Husband deceased sendeth greeting in our lord god everlasting. WHEREAS the persons in the Scedules Indented hereunto annexed doe owe and stand indebted in the particulers somes of money upon their names and heads seuerally in the said scedules set downe and ymposed to the said Duchesse of Richmond and Lenox as Administratrix to hir late Lord and Husband Lodowicke Duke of Richmond and Lenox deceased and to Sr Ffrancis Crane of London Knight, and to Thomas Garret Goldsmith for and in respect of their seuerall interests in and to the making and yssuing of the farthing tokens now currant. NOW THIS PRESENT WRITING WITNESSETH that the said Lady ffrauncis Duchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox hath requested the said Thomas Garret to take vpon him the burthen of the getting in of such part of the said debts and arrerages thereof as belong vnto the said Duchesse in the right of the said Administracon to his the said Thomas Garett['s o]wne vse the giuing to her Grace for the same and in full satisfaccon thereof the some of Three hundred pounds of lawfull money of England. AND the said Thomas Gar[ret at] the speciall instance and request of the said duches hath at th'ensealing of theis presents paid vnto her Grace the said some of Three hundred pounds in consideracon of [her] parte and purport in and to the said debts and arrerages. And the said Dutchesse doth hereby acknowledge to haue had and receaued of the said Thomas Garrett in full payment and satisfaccon of all and singuler her parte and purparte in and to the said debts the said some of

Three hundred pounds of lawfull money of England whereof and wherewith the said Dutchesse doth hold hirselfe well contented satisfyed and paid. And hath giuen graunted assigned and set over. And by these presents doth giue graunt assigne and sett over vntô the said Thomas Garrett his executors administrators and assignes to his and their proper vse and behoofe all her right title interest and demaund whatsoever in all and every of the said debts, which debts doe amount in the wh[ole to] the some of One thousand two hundred fowerscore and one pounds fourteene shillings and two pennce. And being deuided there is due thereof to the sa[id Sir F]francis Crane six hundred and fourty pounds seaventeene shillings and a peny for his moiety in and to the proffitts made vpon the raising yssuing and re[changing] the said farthing tokens. And to the said Thomas Garrett in the right of the said Dutchesse as administratrix to the said Duke hir said late lord and [husba]nd for her Graces two parties in the other moity of the said proffitts fower hundred twenty and seauen pounds fower shillings and eight pence. And to him [the said] Thomas Garrett in his owne right two hundred and thirteene pounds twelue shillings and fower pence for his the said Thomas Garretts said th[ird pa]rte in and to the proffits of making yssuing and rechanging of the said farthing tokens. And further I the said Ffrancis Dutches Dowager of Richmond and Lenox haue by these presents remised released acquited and discharged and doe hereby for my selfe my executors administrators and assignes remise release acquite and discharge the said Thomas Garrett his heires executors administrators and assignes and euery of them of and from One hundred and threescore pounds in Irish tokens and in twenty three pounds in wast tokens remaining in the custody and charge of the said Thomas Garrett and from all and all manner of accounts quarrells recconings and demaunds touching the said debts or any parte thereof. In witnes whereof I the said Right noble princesse Ffrancis Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox haue set my hand and seale Yeuen the ffifteenthe day of Ffebruarye Anno Domini 1624. And in the yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne lord king James of England Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c. the two and Twentith. And of Scotland the eight and fiftith.

Endorsed :—

The Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox her graces Confirmacon and makinge ouer of all the olde debts dew to her grace vnto Mr. Thomas Garrett Goldsmith.

Sealed and deliuered in the presence of vs,

ROBERT NAYER,
ROGER LANGFORDE.

AN INUENTORY of all the debtes good and badd vnpaid of the debt of £1281 14*s.* 2*d.* sett downe at the foote of the Accompte in the yeare of our Lord God, 1624, and owinge to Ffrances Dutchesse Dowager of Richmond and Lenox Sir Ffrancis Crane of London Knight and Thomas Garrett Goldsmith by reason of their severall interest in and to the making yssuinge and rechanginge of his Majesties farthinge tokens of copper nowe currant.

GOOD DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Parker Goldsmith, June 16th, 1623	005	00	00
Peter Dodd, October 28th, 1622	010	00	00
W. Moulsworth, Aprill 2th, 1824	012	07	07
Mr. Durrant, Ja. 2th, 1622	008	00	09
Shipden, Decemb. 4th, 1623	010	00	00
Hocknell, January vijth, 1623	010	15	00
Ffisher Redi., Jan. 2th, 1621	008	00	00
Hall Durh., Jan. 2th, 1621	010	00	00
Goodwin, Aprill 19th, 1622	002	00	00
Peter Blankart, Decemb. 26th, 1623	008	00	00
Hodges, January 2th, 1621	002	10	00
Ramsden, August, 1618	007	00	00
Allen golds., January 2th, 1621	005	00	00
Trenett, Decemb., 1623	002	00	00
Griffith, August, 1624	040	00	00
Mr. Blande, Januar 23th, 1623	050	00	00
	£185	13	4

GOOD DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Widdowes, April the 4th, 1624	010	00	00
Mr. Chambers Sy., March 18th, 1621	050	00	00
Olliband, Decemb. 19th, 1622	000	10	00
Host Mr. Langford, December, 1620	004	00	00
Burton Slee, August 8th, 1622	002	00	00
Dodd Shitt., Januar., 1621	005	00	00
Willcocks Lin., Septemb., 1623	010	00	00
Mayor Yorke, Januar., 1621	020	00	00
Hill Glo., Januar., 1621	003	00	00
England, May, 1623	020	00	00
Bridgeman, October, 1622	006	00	00
Gough, July, 1623	005	00	00
Stuckey, Nouemb., 1623	050	00	00
(*sic*)	£185	00	00

HOPEFULL DEBTS.

John Meriton, August, 1617	005	00	00
John Smith, Janu., 1621	042	00	00
Allen Roc. Nouember, 1621	001	00	00
Kinge, January, 1617	010	00	00
Awberrie, May, 1619	010	00	00
Benia. Carter, August, 1618	002	00	00
	£070	00	00

HOPEFULL DEBTS.

Errington, Aprill, 1620	010	06	07
Kellaway, 1623	001	00	00
Hante, August, 1622	003	00	00
Slicer, October, 1618	002	10	00
Gibridge, March, 1620	001	00	00
Greene, Maye, 1620	0.0	18	00
Dartnall, Julie, 1620	001	00	00
Hole, December, 1622	001	10	00
Sir Rich. Hawkins, May, 1619	009	13	00
	£070	17	07

DOUBTFULL DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Hampton, December, 1621	015	00	00
Ed (?) ., October, 1620	011	17	09
Alden, August, 1618	005	00	00
Gibbons, May, 1617	001	00	00
Sandlyn, June, 1620	001	00	00
Parslewe, May, 1620	009	18	06
Beuerton, December, 1622	002	00	00
Waffe, October, 1618	000	10	00
Waller, January, 1617	005	00	00
Ffreeman, March, 1618	001	00	00
Barker, Septemb., 1622	002	00	00
Ratcliffe, October, 1619	005	00	00
Heylands, March, 1619	000	05	00
Sallowbanck, March, 1619	000	05	00
Blincowe, March, 1620	001	06	00
Kington, June, 1620	000	10	00
G. Ffoster, Aprill, 1619	001	00	00
Hooker, March, 1617	003	18	11¼
Newman, August, 1618	001	00	00
Ball, Aprill, 1618	000	15	00
Clarke, Ffebruary, 1617	005	00	00
Harrison, Januar., 1620	000	10	00
Phillipps, Aprill, 1618	003	19	09½
Pitts, October, 1618	003	00	00
Barnes, March, 1620	003	15	00
Whiteinge, August, 1617	000	10	00
Gibson, October, 1618	000	10	00
Burt, October, 1618	001	00	00
Taylor, December, 1619	003	05	00
Anstropp, July, 1620	010	00	00
Turner, December, 1620	001	00	00
Ffreeman, Nouemb., 1619	000	10	00
Clarke, Decemb., 1622	001	10	00
Morrison, Octob., 1619	008	05	00
Hunter, Octob., 1618	000	10	00
Seywell, Nouemb., 1617	009	10	00
Readinge, October, 1618	001	00	00
Wollredge, Ffebruary, 1616	006	12	00
	£130	12	11¾

DOUBTFULL DEBTS.

	£	s.	d.
Markeham, April, 1620.	001	04	00
Ga. Fforster, Sept., 1621	022	00	00
Graneuer, Nouemb., 1618	005	00	00
Chicknell, December, 1617	005	00	00
Edw. Nowell, Sept., 1618	007	10	00
Raynsford, January, 1617	017	01	10
Claye, January, 1618	001	00	00
Walter, March, 1622	000	05	06
Squyne, October, 1622.	002	00	00
Browne, January, 1621	001	10	00
Saywell, March, 1619	000	05	00
Watson, March, 1619	000	05	00
Life, March, 1619	000	05	00
Corne, May, 1620	001	00	00
Storie, S. G., Ffebr., 1618	047	19	9½
Monger, January, 1621.	000	10	00
Belte, Maye, 1619	005	00	00
Brewer, July, 1618	002	00	00
Cortropp, October, 1620	000	03	6
Guno, Ffebruary, 1619.	000	05	00
Jole, February, 1619	000	05	00
Austine, March, 1620	000	05	00
Smith, of Darkin, Octob., 1618	000	05	00
Towne Malin, Octob., 1618	000	05	00
Neston, October, 1618	000	10	00
John Bowne, October, 1618	000	05	00
Younge, March, 1618	000	05	00
Rathbone, December, 1619	001	10	00
Ffitz-John, August, 1618	007	05	00
	£180	19	07

ALLOWANCES.

	£	s.	d.	q.
Gold, Nouemb., 1617	000	10	00	00
Wallis, Nouemb., 1620	000	01	06	06
Browne, Ffebruary, 1619	001	08	00	00
Medcalfe, August, 1618	000	10	00	00
Day Winsor, Januar., 1617	002	15	00	00
Stremer, October, 1622	000	13	00	00
Joslin, January, 1621	000	06	07	07
Bowles, Aprill, 1618	000	05	00	00
Adlington, Aprill, 1618	001	00	00	00
Ffisher, May, 1618	000	02	00	00
Maddison, August, 1618	000	10	00	00
Bridgeman, Ffebruary, 1617	005	12	00	02
Davies, December, 1619	000	05	00	00
Wadland, August, 1622	002	06	00	06
	£016	04		09
	£403	01		11

ALLOWANCES.

	£	s.	d.	q.
Inche, August, 1618	001	00		00
Ellis, December, 1617	000	10		00
Daye, January, 1617	002	00		00
Blankert, January, 1621	000	04		00
Blackmore, Nouemb., 1618	000	01		06
Gardiner, October, 1618	008	00		00
Chambers, August, 1618	003	00		00
Treuyle, August, 1620	001	00		00
Knight, Nouember, 1619	000	10		00
	£016	05		06
	£402	11		09¾

	£	s.	d.	q.
Memorandum that the debts of Cowper and Nynn, of cccoxxvj^{ti} I saye	426	00		00
And Mr. Byrde his debte being xlix^{li} vij s. vj d.	049	07		06
	£475	07		06

And to bee deuided as they shal bee receiued in vizt.
To the Dutchesse grace of Richmond a third parte.
To Sir Ffrancis Crane a Moytie.
To Tho. Garrett a sixth parte.

W. S. W. VAUX.

April 20th, 1876.

XI.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DEVONSHIRE TOKENS, AND THEIR ISSUERS, NOT DESCRIBED IN BOYNE'S WORK.

So much was well said in Boyne's introduction upon this interesting series of our national currency that little need now be added. The following list gives 96 varieties not known to him when he published his book in 1858, making the large total number of 327 belonging to the county, besides some proposed transfers to be noticed hereafter. The great staple trade of Devonshire in the seventeenth century was cloth-making, and doubtless many of the "clothiers" (as they were then called) utilised these tokens in the payment of wages to their workmen.

Exeter was the chief emporium of that trade, and hence may be attributed the large number of tokens issued from the old city, which furnished 80 known varieties, or very nearly one-fourth of the county series.

Setting aside London with about 3,000, and the Borough of Southwark with over 360, only one place in all England, viz., Norwich, had so many issuers.

All the tokens in the following list passed as farthings except those that have their value of a halfpenny impressed upon them. These are 15 in number: two with the Arabic numerals ½, six with the latter half of the word spelt right, and seven spelt as half or halfe peny.

It is rather singular this antiquated style of spelling penny is still retained in *all* our Books of Common Prayer printed at the Oxford University Press. The word *peny* so spelt occurs in the Gospels for Septuagesima Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent, and the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity; but in all the editions of the New Testament sent from the same press the modernized form of *penny* is adopted.

Of the tokens described, 66 belong to the writer, and to save needless repetitions, there is no initial to them. To the others are placed under each number an initial indicating in whose possession the token is. S. signifies Mr. J. S. Smallfield, of London (to whom the writer is indebted for several unpublished specimens recently acquired by him), E. M., the Exeter Royal Albert Museum, and U. for unknown.

Occasional notes to the tokens have been inserted with a view to explain and elucidate when required.

Adopting Mr. Boyne's plan, the towns are placed in alphabetical order, as are also the issuers' names. The legends are put first in small capitals, and after—the device, words, or initials, in the field. On the tokens, the initial of the surname of a married man is usually placed over those of the Christian names of the husband and wife, but for the convenience of printing, the three initials are put in one line here. Of course *Obv.* means the obverse and *Rev.* the reverse.

ASHBURTON.

1. *Obv.* WALTER . FVRNACE . OF.—HIS HALFEPENNY.
U.
Rev. ASHBVRTON . 1668.—WF (conjoined).

This token was probably issued by one of the Furneaux

family, locally pronounced Furnace, who successfully carried on the manufacture of serges in Ashburton for many years. Another branch of the same family lived at Newton Abbot, and for their token see Boyne, p. 56, No. 139.

2. *Obv.* MOSES . TOZER.—M. T.

Rev. IN . ASHBVRTON.—M. T.

The name Tozer still remains in the town.

AXMINSTER.

3. *Obv.* WILL . BLATCHFORD.—A leathern bottle.

Rev. OF . AXMINSTER.—W. B.

This is one of many tokens not dated, perhaps for want of room. The issuer, like No. 1 and 2, was either a bachelor or widower.

BAMPTON.

4. *Obv.* HENRY . BALL . IN.—The Clothworkers' Arms.

Rev. BAMPTON . 1666.—H. E. B.

5. *Obv.* HENRY . BALL.—H. H. B.

Rev. IN . BAMPTON.—Three balls.

It is not known whether the two last tokens (in the writer's collection) were by the same issuer, but it will be seen the wife's initials differed.

6. *Obv.* IOHN . BALL . OF.—The Grocers' Arms.

Rev. BAMPTON . 1652.—I. B.

BARNSTAPLE.

7. *Obv.* IONAS . HAVWKWELL.—The Weavers' Arms.

Rev. OF . BARNSTAPLE . (16)68.—I. K. H.

8. *Obv.* NATHANIEL . SYMONS . 1657.—The family arms.
U. *Rev.* IN . BARNESTAPLE.—HALFEPENNY.

The issuer was a member of an old county family, which was thought worthy of insertion in "The Visitation of Devon in 1620," published by the Harleian Society, where the arms, corresponding with those on the token, are thus described: "Per fess sable and argent, a pale counter-charged, three trefoils slipped of the second." A farthing by the same issuer is in Boyne, No. 12, Devonshire.

BOVEY TRACEY.

9. *Obv.* WILLIAM . PERIAM.—An axe with handle.
E.M. *Rev.* IN . BOVEY . TRACY.—W. A. P.

This place has not been previously inserted in any list of Devon tokens. The specimen from which the above description was taken is in the Exeter Museum.

BRADNINCH.

10. *Obv.* THOMAS . PEARCE . OF.—T. P. (Conjoined.)
Rev. BRADNINCH . MERCER.—1658.

CHUMLEIGH.

11. *Obv.* IOHN . BOWRING . OF.—HIS HALFEPENY. I. M. B.
S. *Rev.* CHULMLEIGH . 1670.—A woolcomb.

The late Sir John Bowring informed the writer that this token was issued by one of his ancestors, who was a successful serge manufacturer in Chumleigh.

COLYTON.

12. *Obv.* NATHANIEL . PARKMAN.—A full-blown rose.
Rev. IN . COLLITON . 1666.—N. E. P.

This token is similar in type to the halfpenny describe in Boyne, No. 42. The writer has both.

CREDITON.

13. *Obv.* IONATHAN . FRYER.—Arms in shield.
E.M.
Rev. OF . CREDITON . 1668.—I. T. F.

This description was copied from the token by the curator of the Exeter Museum. It is also described in a MS. list of coins, &c., in the library of our L. N. S.

14. *Obv.* IOHN . KNIGHT.—A weaver's shuttle.
Rev. IN . CREDITON . 1665.—I. S. K.

From the device on the obverse, it is evident this issuer was engaged in the cloth-making trade.

CULMSTOCK.

15. *Obv.* IOHN . SOVTHWOOD.—The Mercers' Arms.
Rev. OF . CVLMSTOCK . 1657.—I. I. S.

DARTMOUTH.

16. *Obv.* HENRY . BVRD. 1664.—A rose with stem.
Rev. IN . DARTMOVTH.—H. S. B.

EXETER.

17. *Obv.* AT . ST. MARTIN'S (GATE).—I. B.
U.
Rev. IN . (detrited) . 64.—EXON.

This token is thus described in Captain Shortt's "Collectanea curiosa antiqua," &c., p. 79.

18. *Obv.* IOHN . BARKER.—An Indian with bow and arrow.
S.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1663.—I. V. B.

19. *Obv.* ACHIOR . BROCAS.—A Turk's head.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1669.—A coffee-pot held by a hand with arm issuing from clouds.

This handsome token is a variety of B. 66, being larger,

a different date, and more elaborate device on the reverse. The writer has both specimens. The Turk's Head Inn, near the old Guildhall, has been in existence more than 200 years, and it is probable this issuer was a former landlord. The unpublished token weighs 30 grains, B. 66 only 13 grains.

20. *Obv.* RALPH . BVRIGN . VINT.—The Vintners' Arms.

Rev. NER . NEW . INN . EXON.—R. B.

This is the only token in Devon with the Vintners' Arms upon it. W. Cotton, Esq., F.S.A., in a recent interesting lecture, styled, "Exeter under the Puritans," states that "the New Inn was then a great institution of the city, and in connection with it were several shops, which were opened during the three principal fairs for the sale of serges."

21. *Obv.* IOHN . CANTER.—A fleur-de-lys.

Rev. IN . EXON . 1666.—I. C.

22. *Obv.* IOHN . CHALLWELL.—1662.

Rev. IN . EXON.—I. C.

This is a variety of B. 70. We learn from old Izacke's "Memorials of Exeter," that he was sheriff of that city in 1682, alderman in 1684, and mayor in 1701.

23. *Obv.* WILLIAM . GRAVITT.—A heart.

Rev. AT . SIDWELL . IN . EXON.—W. E. G.

24. *Obv.* ELIZABETH . HAKENS.—1663.

Rev. IN . EXETER.—E. H.

This token was found at Guildford, 150 miles from its place of issue, and given to the writer.

25. *Obv.* EDWARD . HICKMAN.—The Ironmongers' Arms.
Rev. IN . EXETER . 1659.—E. H.

E. H. was steward of Exeter in 1670.

26. *Obv.* ROGGER . HVMPHREY.—R. H.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1663.—P with crown over.

The meaning of the initial P. crowned is unknown to the writer.

27. *Obv.* THOMAS . IONES.—A man smoking.
Rev. OF . EXETER . 1669.—EXON.

28. *Obv.* MARY . LISSON.—A full-blown rose.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1661.—M. L.

29. *Obv.* IOSEPH . MAVDIT.—The Grocers' Arms.
Rev. OF . EXETER . 1657.—I. M. (In monogram).

This issuer, spelt Mawditt by Izacke, was steward of his city in 1668.

30. *Obv.* MARY . MOORE . 1651.—EXON . (Lead, farthing size.)
Rev. DRINK . YEE . ALL . OF . THIS.—A communion cup.

W. Cotton, Esq., who is well versed in the early history of the old city, believes this to be a Church token. He states, "St. Mary Major, of Exeter, was formerly known as St. Mary-le-Moor and Mary Moore." Corruptions probably of Ste. Marie-la-Mère.

31. *Obv.* . YE . RED . LYON . NEAR . EXON.—A lion rampant.
Rev. FOR . NESSESARY . CHANGE.—½ D.

This is the only halfpenny known to have been issued at that period in Exeter.

32. *Obv.* NECESSARY . CHANGE.—P-P (conjoined).
U.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1671.—(In three lines across the field.)

33. A variety of B. 98 (Ambrose Paige), dated 1666 each side.
E.M.

This token is in the Exeter Museum.

34. *Obv.* IOHN . PEARCE.—The Haberdashers' Arms.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1663.—I. P.

35. *Obv.* WILL . PEARCE . IVNIOR.—A fleur-de-lys.
Rev. OF . EXON . 1668.—W. M. P.

36. *Obv.* WILL . POPLESTON.—The Grocers' Arms.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1663.—W. P.

37. *Obv.* IOHN . SLADE.—1658.
Rev. OF . EXETER.—I. S.

38. *Obv.* RICHARD . TAMLING.—A lion rampant.
Rev. IN . EXON . 1666.—R. T.

39. A variety of B. 117 (William Wollman), is dated 1668. In other respects they are alike. The writer has both tokens.

HARTLAND.

40. *Obv.* IOHN . RANDELL.—A shuttle.
Rev. OF . HARTLAND . 64.—I. R.

HONITON.

41. *Obv.* WILLIAM . DARBY.—The Apothecaries' Arms.
E.M.
Rev. IN . HONITON . 1663.—W. D.

42. A variety of B. 124 (John Hall) is dated 1667. Excepting the date, the tokens are alike.

43. *Obv.* THOMAS . HVMPHREYS.—A lion rampant.
Rev. OF . HONITON . 1668.—T. A. H.

44. *Obv.* ORLANDO . SEARLE.—A pair of shears.
Rev. OF . HONITON . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY.

IVYBRIDGE.

45. *Obv.* AT . THE . GOATE . 1657.—A goat.
Rev. AT . IVEY . BRIDGE.—A. M. B.

KINGSBRIDGE.

46. *Obv.* EDWARD . HAYMAN.—St. George and Dragon.
Rev. IN . KINGS . BRIDGE . 59.—E. I. H.

The George Inn is still in existence at Kingsbridge.

KINGSWEAR.

47. *Obv.* IAMES . BVTLER . OF.—A still.
Rev. KINGS . WYRE . IN . DEVON.—I. K. B.

LYMPSTONE.

48. *Obv.* IOHN . REED . IN . THE.—1666.
Rev. PARISH . OF . LIMSON.—T. F. R.

This phonetic mode of spelling the old fishing village exactly represents its pronunciation by the natives at the present time.

MORETON HAMPSTEAD.

49. *Obv.* AN . HALFPENY . FOR . YE . BENEFIT.—A church.
Rev. OF . YE . POORE . OF . MORETON.—HEM PSTED, 1670 (in three lines).

This is a variety of B. 135. It is singular there should be two halfpenny town-pieces of the same date in that small town. The token is much rarer than the one described in Boyne.

NORTH MOLTON.

50. *Obv.* IOHN . PERY . N . MOVLTON.—A pair of scales.

Rev. GROCER . HIS . HAL . . . ENY.—I. P.

This specimen, in poor condition, is the only one known. The name (now spelt Perry) is rather common in the county. The town is not in Boyne.

OKEHAMPTON.

51. *Obv.* OCKINGTON . 1657.—I. M. G.

Rev. HALPE . PENY. (In two lines across the field.)

This token slightly varies from one described by Boyne, p. 29, No. 107. It belongs to a gentleman of Bideford, who states it was found near Okehampton, and as that town is still pronounced "Ockington" by the poorer natives, the writer has ventured to place it in the Devon series. The Rev. W. G. Searle, in his published list of Cambridgeshire tokens, spells his parish "Hoakington."

52. *Obv.* IOHN . SHEBBER.—The Grocers' Arms.

Rev. IN . OKHAMTON.—I. S.

This is probably the same issuer as B. 146, although his name is spelt differently.

ORESTON.

53. *Obv.* WILLIAM . AND . ARTHUR.—A man ?
U.

Rev. COLLINGS . OF . ORSON.—W. A. C.

Mr. R. B. Worth, of Plymouth, in describing this token, states that Oreston (where it was found) is a populous hamlet in the parish of Plymstock, and it is still locally pronounced "Orson." This is another proof that the die makers were often illiterate, and must have taken the names of places orally, from local pronunciation, rather than from official documents.

OTTERY ST. MARY.

54. *Obv.* HENRY . MARCKER . IN.—H. I. M.
Rev. OTTERY . ST . MAREY . 1667.—HIS HALF PENY.

The name, now spelt Marker, still exists in the locality.

PLYMOUTH.

55. *Obv.* ELIZABETH . BYLAND.—The Coopers' Arms.
Rev. PLYMOVTH . 1667.—E. B.

56. *Obv.* HENRY . CLARKE.—A lion rampant.
Rev. OF . PLIMOVTH . 1667.—H. M. C.

57. *Obv.* HENRY . DAVIS.—HIS HALF PENNY.
S.
Rev. PLYMOVTH . 1669.—H. D.

58. *Obv.* EDWARD GEFFERY.—The Arms of Plymouth.
E.M.
Rev. IN . PLYMOVTH . 1664.—E. E. G.

59. *Obv.* IAMES . IRIESH . AT . YE.—Three fish hooks.
U.
Rev. OF . PLYMOVTH . 1667.—I. E. I.

60. *Obv.* THOMAS . POWELL.—A woolcomb.
Rev. PLYMOVTH . 1669.—T. I. P.

61. *Obv.* ADAM . TVRTLY.—The Grocers' Arms.
S.
Rev. IN . PLYMOTH.—A. T.

62. A variety of B. 175, has no date on R, and initials W. W.

63. *Obv.* IOHN . WILLIAMS.—An open book.
S.
Rev. IN . PLYMOVTH . STATIONER.—I. W.

ST. THOMAS.

64. *Obv.* A variety of B. 179, has—1671 (over EXON).

This token, in the writer's collection, is smaller than the undated one.

SALCOMBE.

65. *Obv.* THOMAS . COLLMAN.—The Glaziers' Arms.

Rev. OF . SALCOMBE.—T. C.

SHEEPWASH.

66. *Obv.* BARTHOLOMEW . VENTON.—B. E. V.

Rev. IN . SHEEPWASH . 1668.—HIS HALFE PENNY.

This place does not appear in Boyne's list.

SOUTH MOLTON.

67. *Obv.* SAMVELL . BADCOCK.—A cock.

Rev. IN . SOVTH . MOVLTON.—S. B.

68. *Obv.* RICHARD . BOWDEN.—A stocking between two annulets.

Rev. OF . SOVTH . MOVLTON . 69.—R. B. B.

This farthing token is by the same issuer as the halfpenny described in Boyne, No. 187.

69. *Obv.* ED . BROAD . SOVTH . MOVLTON.—The Mercers' Arms.

Rev. WHEN . YOU . PLEASE . ILE . CHAINGE . THESE.—½ (in centre).

This is the only rhyming token known of Devonshire, but they are to be found in other counties. The four first words are in an outer circle, the two last in an inner one.

70. *Obv.* EDWARD . BROAD.—The Mercers' Arms.
B.M.

Rev. IN . SOVTH . MOVLTON.—E. M. B.

The writer was kindly permitted to copy the above description from a specimen in the national collection. It is the only one known.

71. *Obv.* WILLIAM . DOWNES . OF.—A bell.

Rev. SOVTH . MOVLTON . 1652.—W. E. D.

72. *Obv.* THOMAS . LAKE . 1668.—A horse saddled and bridled.
Rev. OF . SOVTH . MOVLTON.—T. M. L.

TAVISTOCK.

73. *Obv.* DAVID . CONDY . OF . 1666.—The Clothworkers' Arms.
Rev. TAVESTOCK . IN . DEVON.—D. C.

74. *Obv.* RICHARD . HVCHINGS . IN.—Arms.
U.
Rev. TAVISTOCK . IN . DEVON.—R. H., 1666.

Thus described in a MS. list of coins and tokens in the library of our Numismatic Society.

There are many descriptions of tokens not in Boyne in the said list, and they have been generally found to be correct. Tavistock is not in Boyne's list.

THORNCOMBE.

75. *Obv.* ROGER . BRIANT . OF.—A pair of shears.
Rev. THORNECVM . 1657.—R. B.

The above parish, formerly a detached part of Devon, was allotted to Dorsetshire by Act of Parliament in 1842, but as these tokens represent a state of things two centuries ago, it is now retained in this list.

TIVERTON.

76. *Obv.* WILLIAM . DAYMAN.—Three diamonds (two and one).
Rev. BARRINTON . TIVERTON.—W. A. D.

Barrington is one of the old streets of the borough.

77. *Obv.* WILLIAM . DIAMAN.—Three diamonds (two and one).
Rev. IN . TIVERTON . 1664.—W. A. D.

From the similarity of the devices and initials no doubt these farthings were by the same issuer. The arms of the

same family on No. 199 (Boyne) should have been thus described, "Gules, three fusils conjoined in fess argent." The fusil, an elongated lozenge, was probably incorporated into their arms as a rebus on their original name of Diamond. The same arms are still retained by the descendants of the old stock.

78. *Obv.* ROGER . FROST . IN . TIVERTON.—R. R. F.
Rev. HIS . HALFE PENNY. (In three lines.)—A shuttle.

79. *Obv.* AT . THE . RED . LION.—A lion rampant.
Rev. IN . TIVRTON . 1657.—T. I.

The E is left out of Tiverton. The Red Lion Inn is yet in existence on the same spot. The *name* of the old landlord is unknown.

80. *Obv.* IOHN . PATY . OF.—A cock.
Rev. TIVERTON . 1664.—HIS HALFE PENNY.

On the issuer's farthing the name is spelt "Patee" (B. 206). The present form is Patey.

81. A variety of B. 208 (Aquila Skinner), from a different die, has on *Rev.* TYVERTON. In other respects they are alike.

A. S. was a man of good standing in Tiverton, and one of the trustees of an important local charity. There is a letter preserved in Martin Dunsford's "History of Tiverton," p. 191, from John Lord Desborough, then Lord Lieutenant of Devon, to John Fowler, Esq., Mayor of Tiverton, ordering that Aquila Skinner and four others (named) should be turned out of the corporation as "enemies to the Commonwealth," and that five others, to be chosen by the Mayor, should take their places, adding, "if any of the persons above mentioned do refuse to yield

obedience hereunto, then you are to give me an account thereof, that I may take an effectual course for the same." —Signed, "JOHN DESBOROUGH, *Exon*, *March* 16, 1655."

82. *Obv.* THOMAS . WHICHAR.—A diamond.
Rev. OF . TIVERTON . 57.—T. K. W.

Mint mark, Fleur-de-lys on each side.

83. *Obv.* THOMAS . WEBBER . IN.—A diamond.
Rev. TIVERTON . 1666.—T. K. W.

These eight unpublished Tiverton tokens are all in the writer's collection.

TOPSHAM.

84. *Obv.* PETER . TRAPNELL . OF.—1668.
Rev. TOPSHAM . MERCER.—P. D. T.

TORRINGTON.

85. *Obv.* ARTHVR . AYRE . OF.—Arms in a shield.
Rev. GREATE . TORINGTON.—A. A. A.

86. *Obv.* A variety of B. 218, has IN after surname.
Rev. The town is spelt with one R.

It is probable there may have been but one token struck, and that Mr. Boyne was misinformed.

87. *Obv.* GEORGE . TITHERLY.—1666.
Rev. IN . GREAT . TORINGTON.—G. D. T.

TOTNES.

88. *Obv.* IAMES . COCKEY.—A cock.
Rev. OF . TOTNES . 1668.—I. E. C.

The bird represented on the obverse is evidently

intended as a rebus on the issuer's name. Such punning devices were not unfrequent. Other specimens may be found in the Devon series. See Boyne No. 39, 190, 218, 221.

89. *Obv.* MARY . FARWELL.—Family arms in shield.

Rev. OF . TOTTONES . 1658.—M. F.

The above arms are a chevron between three escallop-shells. The descendants of the issuer, now Varwell, still use the same arms.

90. *Obv.* PETER . GAILARD.—The Barber-Surgeons' Arms.

Rev. IN . TOTNES . 1657.—P. E. G.

The arms of this old incorporated Trade Company (viz., "Quarterly; first and fourth, a chevron between three fleams; second and third, a rose crowned. Between the four quarters, a cross of St. George charged with a lion passant gardant") appear in only one other instance in Devon, B. 18.

91. A variety of B. 222 (Jeams Martin) reads on

Rev. TOTNES . IN . DEVON.—I. M. 1653.

It is possible that Mr. Boyne may have been misinformed as to the correct reading on the *Rev.* of this token. The next on his list, 223, ought to read thus on the *Obv.*," WILLM. RVMBELLO," and the initials on *Rev.*, W. I. R.

92. *Obv.* PETOLOMVS . SAMPSON.—The Mercers' Arms.
U.

Rev. OF . TOTTONES.—P. S.

The above description was kindly furnished by Mr. C. Golding. He does not know who has the token.

UFFCULME.

93. *Obv.* ION . . . AN . BERELD.—His halfe peny.
E.M.
Rev. OF . VFCVLME . 1671.—I. M. B.

94. *Obv.* IOHN . DYER . OF.—1658.
Rev. VFCOMB . IN . DEVON.—I. M. D.

95. *Obv.* FRANCIS . PRATT.—1666.
Rev. IN . VFCVLME.—F. F. P.

The cloth-making trade in this small town, which had been carried on successfully for several centuries, has been lately brought to a close, and the old manufactory pulled down.

P.S.—Another new token of Exeter has lately been found. It belongs to a gentleman of Totnes, and reads thus:—

Obv. IOHN . PYM.—A boar's head (?)
Rev. OF . EXON . 1668.—I. S. P. ¼

The issuer was "steward" of the old city in 1653; and we learn further, from "Isacke's Memorials of Exeter," p. 184, that by an order of Privy Council in the third year of James II. (1687), that the King "thought fit to remove" certain members of the corporation from their posts, and John Pym, merchant, was one of those then ordered to be elected into the Common Council; and in 1688 he was made "Receiver" (treasurer) of the corporation funds.

PROPOSED TRANSFERS TO AND FROM DEVON.

APPLEDORE.

Mr. Boyne has, at p. 122, assigned Nos. 2, 3, 4, to Appledore, county of Kent, but as *Comman* (under that

form, also in several others, as Comyn, Comins, &c., &c.) and *Grible* (now spelt Gribble) are common names in Devon, especially in the north-west corner of it, the writer is of opinion they belong to this county. The harp on Nos. 2 and 3 was probably copied from the small farthings of James I. and Charles I. The ship on No. 4 is still the sign of the head inn of our Appledore.

BAMPTON.

Boyne's No. 8 of our county series (John Tvll) belongs to Bampton, Oxon, as Giles's history of that town states that John Tull by his will gave £10 to the use of the poor in that parish. The writer is indebted to Mr. C. Golding for this piece of information.

EXEBRIDGE.

See Boyne No. 60. The small hamlet to which this token is assigned, in the parish of Morebath, has scarcely a shop, and no manufactory in it; whilst the old bridge at Exeter, which was pulled down in 1770, had houses upon it overhanging the river, and from the word "*on*" Exbridge, used by Thomas Hitche, the writer believes it certainly belongs to the old city.

KENTON.

Mr. Boyne, at p. 472, No. 84, ascribes a token of John Whitroe in Kenton to Kineton, county of Warwick, but as that token has been found at or near to Kenton, a populous village seven miles from Exeter, and as, moreover, Whitroe, now spelt Whitrow, is an old Devonshire name, there is little doubt it belongs to our series.

OCKINGTON.

At p. 29, No. 107, a halfpenny token is assigned by Mr. Boyne to Hoakington or Oakington, county of

Cambridge, but for the reason before stated (see No. 51), it seems rather to belong to the old town of Oakhampton. "It is an early date for a halfpenny," as Boyne remarks, but there is another of the same date at No. 8 of the foregoing list.

Ottery.

In Boyne, p. 468, a token is ascribed to Austrey, Co. Warwick, viz.—

Obv. NATHANIELL . SWEET.—A man smoking.

Rev. OF . AVTRY . 1658.—N. M. S.

Ottery St. Mary, Devon, is still locally pronounced *Autry* Richard Teape's token (p. 57, No. 153) gives the name of the town under the form of AVTERY, and by referring to Boyne, p. 51, No. 43, we find another token described issued at Colyton by Nathaniel Sweet. Now Colyton and Ottery are but a few miles apart, and it is very likely Nathaniel Sweet had establishments in both towns, as we know John Lethbridge had in four adjacent places. See Boyne's Devon List, Nos. 191 and 231.

Sutton.

In Boyne, p. 438, under Sutton, Co. Surrey, we have this description—

Obv. SAMVEL . SEELEY.—The Grocers' Arms.

Rev. OF . SVTTON . 1658.—S. S. ½.

There are about fifty Suttons in England, and Mr. Boyne remarks that this one is "placed to Surrey without any authority." The now important port of Plymouth

was formerly called Sutton. It appears in Domesday Book as "Svdtone," (South town), whilst the old name is still retained in Sutton Harbour, and in one of the ecclesiastical districts of the parish, Sutton-on-Plym. Moreover, the Seeleys were an influential Plymouth family in the middle of the seventeenth century, and gave at that time several mayors to the borough. See Worth's "History of Plymouth," p. 129.

From the foregoing facts I believe that both tokens (Sweet's and Seeley's) belong to Devonshire.

If these transfers are adopted, there will be then 333 Devonshire known tokens. Only five out of the forty English counties had more,—viz., Middlesex (with London), Surrey (with Southwark), Kent, Suffolk,[1] and York. In conclusion, if any members of our Numismatic Society should meet with any unpublished Devon tokens not included in the foregoing list, they will confer a favour upon the writer by informing him of the same.

H. S. Gill.

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[1] Boyne gives only 289 to Suffolk, but by the researches of Mr. C. Golding seventy-one unpublished varieties have been added to that county.

XII.

THE ORIENTAL CABINET AT COPENHAGEN.

PROFESSOR A. MEHREN has from time to time been kind enough to place at my disposal lists of various portions of the collection of Oriental Coins in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen. The collection is not a very large one; but it contains some specimens of considerable interest and rarity. As no printed catalogue of the collection is at present contemplated, it may be interesting to Oriental numismatists if, with Professor Mehren's consent, I publish a few of the more important coins described in his manuscript lists.

Among the Amawī coins of the Copenhagen Collection two silver pieces deserve special mention. The first is a dirhem of Wāsiṭ, important on account of its date, A.H. 84, a year earlier than any coin of that city hitherto published. The second is one of the rare class issued by Abū-Muslim, forming the connecting-link between the Amawī and the 'Abbāsī coinage. It was struck at Er-Rayy in the year of the Flight 131, and is of course distinguished by the characteristic legend قل لا اسلكم عليه اجرا الا المودة فى القربى.

The Idrīsī series, though not extensive, comprises a rare dirhem of Moḥammad ibn Idrīs. The inscriptions are these:—

Obv. Area. لا الـــه الا
الله وحده
محمد
لا شريك له
على

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم با . . . . سنة ثمان
عشرة ومائتين

Rev. Area. محمد بن ادريس
محـــمـــد
رســـــول
الـــلـــه
المعتصم بالله

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Among the Buweyhī coins, M. Mehren signalizes as specially remarkable one struck by 'Aḍud-ed-dawleh under the suzerainty of Rukn-ed-dawleh. The peculiarity of this dirhem lies in the enclosure of the areas and margins. On each side the area is enclosed in a double hexagram, between the lines of which the inner marginal inscription is placed. This mode of enclosing the inscriptions is not found on any of the Buweyhī coins in the British Museum;

but one similar to this, though not the same, is described by Fraehn (St. Petersb., p. 148, no. 1). The inscriptions of the Copenhagen dirhem are as follows :—

Obv. Area within double hexagram,

لا الـــه الا الـلـه
وحده لا شريك له
ركـن الـدولـــة
ابـــو عـــلـــى

Inner Margin, between lines of double hexagram,

بسم الله . . . . . بشيراز . . . . . واربعين وثلثمائة

Outer Margin, between hexagram and enclosing circle,

traces of the usual Buweyhī inscr. باليمن والسعادة الخ

Rev. Area within double hexagram,

لـلـه
محـمـــد
رسول اللـه
المطيع لله
عضد الدولة
ابـو شجـاع

Inner margin, between lines of double hexagram,

محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

Outer margin, between hexagram and enclosing circle,

traces of باليمن والسعادة الخ

The collection at Copenhagen contains a duplicate of the dīnār of Ḳarā-Arslān Bēg, belonging to the British

Museum, which I described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii., pt. 2, no. 1. The two coins are precisely alike, even to the faults in orthography اس for اثنتين, سس for ستين, ما for مائة, لة for الله. The only difference is that on the Copenhagen coin the ا of قرا is clearly legible, whilst on the other example it was obscured, or indeed effaced, by the double-striking.

Among the miscellaneous coins described in M. Mehren's letters is one of Bejkem, which perhaps deserves a place in this selection.

Obv. Area. لا الـــــــــه الا
الـــلـــه وحـــده
لا شـــريـــك لـــه
ابو الحسيـن بجكم
مولى امير المومنين

Margin (inner). بسم الله . . . . . تسع وعشرين وثلثمائة

(outer). لله الامر الخ

Rev. Area. لله
محـمـــد
رســـــول
الـــلـــه
المتقى لـه

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ

For a similar specimen comp. Tornberg, Num. Cuf. p. 117, no. 517.

In a private collection at Copenhagen is preserved a remarkable 'Othmānlī dīnār of Murād ibn Selīm, A.H. 983, of which M. Mehren has kindly sent me impressions. The inscriptions are these:

Obv. Area, within double square,

صاحب
العدل المويد
السلطان
مراد ابن
السلطان سليم

Margin, between square and outer circle,

سنة ثلاثة وثمانين وتسعمائة

Rev. Area, within double square,

مالك البرين
والبحرين والشام
والعراقين خلد
الله ملكه

Margin, between square and outer circle,

سنة ثلاثة وثمانين وتسعمائة بهلسان ؟؟

The last coin, and that of Ḳarā-Arslān and the Buweyhī are described from impressions compared with Professor Mehren's readings; the others from M. Mehren's manuscript alone.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

AUGUST 1st, 1876.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Die Deutschen Münzen der Sächsischen und Fränkischen Kaiserzeit. Herausgegeben von Hermann Dannenberg.

Herr Dannenberg claims for his book, not without justice, the honourable distinction of being the most complete, or indeed the only complete, work upon early German coins. Monographs upon the various kingdoms, duchies, cities, and the like within the territorial circle of the Holy Roman Empire, upon the coins of the Emperors, upon those of the Archbishops and other Electors, we have had in tolerable abundance; but not until now a book which set itself to treat of the coinage of Germany considered as a whole. The appearance of such a book as this, when the German Empire has taken the place of the Holy Roman Empire, and when Germans are feeling a national unity which they never felt before, is of course singularly apposite, and will, we may hope, insure for the author a warm recognition among his own countrymen. We, however, are not concerned with this aspect of the question, and have only to ask how has Herr Dannenberg accomplished the task he has undertaken? To this interrogation we may give either a flattering or a less favourable answer, accordingly as we compare the complete work before us, on the one hand, with those smaller and unsatisfying monographs, formerly the sole reservoirs of information wherefrom the student had, not without painful labour, to draw his knowledge of early German numismatics, or, on the other hand, with the ideal state of perfection to which a work of this character might have attained, the fund of information it might have afforded. It amply fulfils the purpose of an ordinary numismatic work. As a mere list of coins for the purpose of verification the book is extensive and, as far as we have been able to ascertain, complete. The sixty-one plates which are published with the volume contain good lithographs of about fourteen hundred coins; and these plates are preceded by an admirable map showing the mints of Germany during the period whereof Herr Dannenberg treats, namely from 919 to 1137. Why are maps like this not more common in works on numismatics?

It is only, as we have said, when compared with an almost ideal excellence, an excellence scarcely ever found in books

which treat of mediæval numismatics, that the work before us elicits any feeling of disappointment. It is better, to our thinking, than any similar book which deals with the whole coinage of France; but it falls short of the high standard set by our own Ruding. We look in vain for anything so painstaking and exhaustive as those opening chapters—which have not yet been antiquated or superseded—in which Ruding treats of the constitution of the mint, the supply of bullion, the weight system, and methods of coining which obtained in England. Yet even Ruding's book is not an ideal one, in that it is somewhat insular in its character, and that so much that is instructive in the relationship of English to foreign coinages is omitted. Mediæval numismatics, which cannot, like the Greek or Roman, be made especially interesting for the history which a coin bears upon its face, should, to our thinking, be treated more particularly in a comparative manner, and should be interrogated for the information which they have to give concerning the imitation by one country of the coinage of another, the comparison of weights, as telling upon the question of exchange, the rights and extent of local coinage, &c.; for these all touch the history of the time. Much information of this kind—which might have been looked for in Herr Dannenberg's work, much indeed which is being by Time gradually buried out of sight in the pages of past periodicals such as Grote's "Münzstudien"—is absent from the pages before us. We should have been glad, for instance, had the author given some sketch of the history of the German coinage from its real beginning, the establishment of the denarius currency by Karl, and done something to clear up the causes and origin of that great revolution. For whatever may have been its first mint places—and Cologne was one of them—the substitution of the denarius currency in the place of that of the Merovingians was essentially an Austrasian movement, and that means in effect that it was the starting of a German coinage, the supplanting of the old Roman system or of one founded upon it, by the weight system of the Cologne mark. Questions of this sort and many others lie before the writer of an ideally complete work on early German coins.

These considerations ought not to blind us to the valuable information which Herr Dannenberg's book contains. All the chapters of the introduction may be read with pleasure and profit, and these chapters—on the Münzrecht, Das Gepräge, Die Inschriften—are sufficient to afford a perfect comprehension of the coins which follow. Not the least important for that wider treatment of mediæval numismatics for which we have been pleading would probably be found the chapter on

Münzfunde. The plan of the work comprehends, as we have said, the coins issued within the limits of the Holy Roman Empire under the Saxon and Franconian Emperors, that is to say, from Henry the Fowler (919) to the accession of the Hohenstaufen family in the person of Conrad V. (1138). It is divided (geographically) into seven chapters, containing the coins of Lothringen, Friesland, Saxony, Franconia and Thüringia, Suabia and Bavaria, and those of which the mints are undetermined. It will be a great comfort for the student of this class of coins to be able to desert his Grotes, Cappes, and other monograph writers, for a more complete and comprehensive work. C. F. K.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. III., Heft 4, Berlin, 1876, contains the following articles :—

1. Fr. Imhoof-Blumer. "Greek Coins in the Royal Coin Cabinet at the Hague and in other Collections." This article is accompanied by four autotype plates, with facsimiles of nearly one hundred rare and interesting coins.

2. M. Bahrfeldt. "Countermarks of Vespasian on Roman Consular Denarii."

3. J. P. Six. "On certain Coins of Chersonesus, Miletus, and Salybria." M. Six here gives good reasons for attributing to Chersonesus, near Cnidus, certain staters of Æginetic weight; having on the obverse a lion's head with open jaws, and on the reverse the legend ϟΞΧ and a bull's head within an incuse square, which have hitherto generally been given to the Thracian Chersonese. See Brandis, p. 524.

4. H. Ferrero. "The Fourth Congiarium of the Philips." M. Ferrero here publishes a large brass coin of Philip Junior, having on the reverse LIBERALITAS AVGG · IIII. The two Emperors laureate l. in éx. s.c. This coin must have been struck in A.D. 249.

5. M. Fränkel. On an Athenian copper ticket (of the Thesmothetæ), having on the obverse ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ and four owls, and on the reverse the letter Ε, which M. Fränkel considers as the mark of the fifth of ten decuries into which the 5,000 Athenian jurymen or heliasts were divided. It was the duty of the Thesmothetæ, or six inferior archons, to determine by lot which of the ten decuries should sit, and under the presidency of what judge. The interesting ticket here published is thought by M. Fränkel to be one of the tokens made use of by the archons in drawing these lots. It has lately been acquired by the Berlin coin cabinet with the collection of Count Prokesch-Osten.

6. A. von Sallet. "On the Medals of Joachim I., Margrave of Brandenburg."

In the "Miscellanea" is a notice by Friedlaender of a false coin of Epirus with the name of Alexander. Engraved in the Gréau sale catalogue, No. 1281.

Von Sallet has a review of Prof. E. Curtius's studies on the History of Corinth (Hermes, x. p. 215—243), in which he casts doubts upon Curtius's attribution to Eubœa of the archaic coins generally given to Athens, of various types, Gorgon-head, Wheel, Half-horse, Astragalus, &c. This subject has already been discussed in the pages of the "Chronicle," N.S., vol. xv. p. 279. In our own opinion Prof. Curtius and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer are right in ascribing some, at any rate, of these coins to Eubœa.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik.* Bd. IV., Heft 1 and 2, Berlin, 1876, contains the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender. "The Acquisitions of the Royal Coin Cabinet in the year 1875."

This splendid collection now contains as many as 55,261 Greek coins, of which 1,452 are of gold, 21,047 of silver, and 32,762 of bronze.

It is useless to remind our readers that the Berlin cabinet has been within the last few years enormously increased; first by the purchase of the collection of General Fox, and now by that of the Count Prokesch-Osten. Of these two famous collections the latter is perhaps scientifically the more important. As Austrian ambassador, both at Athens and Constantinople, Count Prokesch-Osten had opportunities of getting together an unrivalled collection of Greek autonomous coins, both of Hellas and of Asia Minor—opportunities of which he certainly made the most, for the collection which the German Government has just purchased contains a vast number of unique and very rare Greek coins, which will place the Berlin Museum next after those of Paris and London. Dr. Friedlaender, in the present article, treats of all the great rarities of the Prokesch-Osten collection. These are far too numerous even to enumerate on the present occasion. We can therefore only refer our readers to Dr. Friedlaender's interesting *resumé* of his recently acquired treasures. We trust that the German Government, which has of late years set the rest of Europe such a good example by granting large sums of money for the purchase of ancient coins, will now follow in the footsteps of our own Government, and by a liberal grant of money place Dr. Friedlaender and his learned colleagues in a position to produce a catalogue of the

Greek coins in the Berlin Cabinet worthy of so magnificent a collection.

2. M. Bahrfeldt. "On the Exchange of the Dies of Roman Family Coins—Hybrid Pieces."

3. H. Dannenberg. "The Lübeck Find."

This article will prove of great interest to the English collectors on account of the many varieties of Anglo-Saxon coins there enumerated.

4. A. von Sallet. "On the Coins of Cæsar with his Portrait."

5. A. von Sallet. "On Alexandrian Coins of Plautilla."

6. J. Friedlaender. "On the Word VSSESSON on Gold Coins of the Byzantine Emperor, Leo IV."

7. Dr. A. D. Mordtmann. "On Persepolitan Coins." This article is accompanied by two plates, and will be indispensable to the student of ancient Oriental numismatics. Dr. Mordtmann's attributions are for the most part quite new.

8. J. Friedlaender. "On the Arnsberg Find (Mediæval)."

9. Dannenberg. "On the Coins of Hedel (Mediæval)."

The part concludes with notices of all the recent numismatic publications.

B. V. H.

The Trustees of the British Museum have just published the second volume of their catalogue of Greek coins.*

This volume, which includes the coins of Sicily and the adjacent islands, is edited by Mr. R. S. Poole. The Syracusan portion is by Mr. B. V. Head, in which the chronological sequence adopted in his "History of the Coinage of Syracuse" is adhered to. The coins of the other cities of Sicily are catalogued by Mr. P. Gardner, and those of the Siculo-Punic class and of Lipara by the editor. The volume is amply illustrated by more than two hundred woodcuts, and is accompanied by no less than eight indexes: 1, geographical; 2, types; 3, remarkable symbols; 4 (α), kings, queens, tyrants, &c.; 4 (β), magistrates' names; 5, Roman magistrates' names; 6, engravers' names; 7, remarkable inscriptions and legends—(α) Greek, (β) Latin.

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* "Catalogue of Greek Coins—Sicily." 8vo. London, 1876. Longmans & Co. Price 21*s*.

XIII.

ON A RECENT FIND OF STATERS OF CYZICUS, ETC.

In my article on ancient electrum[1] I alluded to a recent find of Cyzicene staters, and at the same time I expressed a hope that our knowledge of this interesting series of coins might be considerably augmented thereby. In order, therefore, that numismatists who have not seen the originals may have at their disposal the necessary materials for study, I have drawn up a list of all the coins from this find which have passed through my hands during the present year. As nearly twelve months have now elapsed since the last instalment found its way to this country, and as no new varieties, as far as I am aware, are now in the market, I venture, though perhaps somewhat prematurely, to conclude that the entire contents of the hoard may be set down at about fifty-six electrum staters, together with at least one gold daric. Of these fifty-six coins, forty have passed through my own hands, and I am informed that among the sixteen which I have not seen there is but one other variety (No. 21), which is, moreover, of a published type.

This find, which comes to us from Smyrna, comprises as many as twenty-seven different types, of which I append

[1] Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xv. pp. 245—297.

a descriptive list. With the exception of No. 21, all these coins, forty in number, have been carefully examined and weighed by myself.

1. *Obv.* Head of Apollo laureate facing, slightly towards right; beneath, tunny.

   Rev. Quadripartite incuse square, the planes of the four quarters sloping off like the sails of a windmill. El. 247·9. Pl. VIII. 2 and 3.

   [Waddington, "Asie Mineure," Pl. VIII. 3.]

2. *Obv.* Apollo naked kneeling right on tunny; he holds a strung bow, and appears to be watching the effect of the arrow which he has just discharged.

   Rev. Similar to that of preceding coin. El. 247·8. Pl. VIII. 4.

[Friedländer and v. Sallet, "Das K. Münzkabinet," p. 58, No. 79.]

The worship of Apollo in the territory of Cyzicus appears to have been of a threefold character: first as Lycius at Zeleia on the Æsepus; second as Archegetes, the leader of the Milesian colony to Cyzicus; and third as ἐκβάσιος or Ἰασόνιος, under which names he had an oracle at Adrastea. The introduction of his worship is ascribed to the Argonauts by Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. i. 966—

ἔνθ' οἵ γ' Ἐκβασίῳ βωμὸν θέσαν Ἀπόλλωνι—

on which the Schol. remarks:—ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως τῆς νεὼς ἐπὶ τὴν Δολιονίαν. Δηΐλοχος δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν οὐκ Ἐκβασίου Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἰασονίου Ἀπόλλωνος. Σωκράτης δὲ, ἐν τοῖς Ἐπικλήσεσι, Κυζικηνοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός φησι καλεῖσθαι.

3. *Obv.* Helios naked, radiate, kneeling right on tunny; his arms extended and holding by their bridles two prancing steeds.

   Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 248·4. Pl. VIII. 5.

   [Unpublished. Cf. hecte in Brandis, p. 407.]

Apollo was revered as the Sun-god at Zeleia on the Æsepus in the territory of Cyzicus (see Marquardt, "Cyzicus und sein Gebiet," p. 129; Etym. M., p. 408, 40). *Ζέλεια ὠνόμασται ἀπὸ Ζέλυός τινος, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν αὐτῇ λίαν εὐσεβεῖσθαι*, which confirms Schwenk's conjecture that the names *Σέλα, Ζέλα, Ζέλεια* refer to the worship of the Sun-god.

4. *Obv.* Omphalos of Apollo at Delphi, from the top of which hang fillets; upon it, face to face, sit two eagles; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 248. Pl. VIII. 6.

Another (same die).—El. 247·4.

Another (different die).—El. 247·9.

[Unpublished.]

Probably in allusion to the worship of Apollo in general, the Omphalos at Delphi being taken as typical of the Apolline religion throughout Hellas. Pindar (Pyth. iv. 4) mentions the golden eagles of Zeus in connection with the Delphic oracle—

ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων Διὸς αἰητῶν πάρεδρος—

a passage which is further explained by the Scholiasts as follows:—*λόγος τις τοιοῦτος περιηχεῖ, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς οἰκουμένης καταμετρήσασθαι βουληθεὶς, ἴσους κατὰ τὸ τάχος ἀετοὺς ἐκ δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς ἀφῆκεν· οἱ δὲ διϊπτάμενοι συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν Πυθῶνα, ὥστε τὴν σύμπτωσιν ὁρίζειν αὐτόθι τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης τὸ μεσαίτατον· ὕστερον δὲ σημεῖον τοῦ γεγονότος καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀετοὺς κατασκευάσας ἀνέθηκε τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τεμένει. §Ἄλλως· ὅτι ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀφεθέντες ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς συνέπεσον ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οὕτως ἐγνώσθη τὸ μέσον τῆς γῆς· ὧν εἰκόνες οἱ χρυσοῖ ἀνέκειντο παρὰ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν ἀετοὶ, ᾔρθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ Φωκικῷ πολέμῳ, ὃν Φιλόμηλος συνεστήσατο.* The date of the spoliation of the temple at Delphi by the Phocians under Philomelus was

B.C. 356—354; but, as I shall show hereafter, the Cyzicene staters are in my opinion all anterior to that date.

5. *Obv.* Head of bearded Dionysus right, wearing broad Bacchic diadem and ivy wreath; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 244·7. Pl. VIII. 7.

Another (different die).—El. 246·2. Pl. VIII. 8.

[Brandis, p. 408.]

6. *Obv.* Bearded satyr kneeling right on tunny, holding kantharos in right, and pouring into it wine from a large amphora held in his left arm.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 248· Pl. VIII. 9.

Another.—El. 247·7.

[Unpublished.]

The territory of Cyzicus was renowned for its wines. Hence the appropriateness of the epithet in the Sibylline oracle (ed. Opsop., p. 252. Marquardt, p. 32)—

Κύζικ' ὦ οἰκήτειρα Προποντίδος οἰνοπόλοιο,

as well as the Bacchic types on some of its coins.

7. *Obv.* Bearded head right with ram's ear and horn; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·1. Pl. VIII. 10.

[Mionnet, Suppl. V., Pl. II. 3.]

This remarkable head is in my opinion rather that of Bacchus Ammon than of Zeus Ammon. On the relation of Ammon to the Bacchic worship, see K. O. Müller, Th. ii., No. 411.

8. *Obv.* Youthful head left of Apollo laureate (?), or of young Dionysus with ivy wreath (?); beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 248·6. Pl. VIII. 11.

[Unpublished (?). Brandis, p. 408 (?).]

The wreath on this coin is very doubtful; it is even uncertain whether there is a wreath at all, in which case the head may represent the hero Cyzicus.

9. *Obv.* Bearded male figure (Poseidon ?) kneeling right on tunny; he holds dolphin in right hand and trident downwards in left; over his shoulder is a mantle.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·4. Pl. VIII. 12.

Another.—El. 248·7.

[Unpublished.]

In the list of the Cyzicene months, the fourth, beginning on December 25th, was dedicated to Poseidon (see Caylus, ii. pp. 235—241.

10. *Obv.* Herakles kneeling right on tunny and strangling lion.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·1. Pl. VIII. 13.

Another.—El. 248·2.

[Brandis, p. 405.]

11. *Obv.* Bearded male figure left, the lower part of his body ending in serpent's tail; he holds in his right hand a tree, and rests his left against his hip; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 248·6. Pl. VIII. 14.

Another (different die).—El. 246·8. Pl. VIII. 15.

[Unpublished.]

Clearly one of the giants (γηγενεῖς), the fabled inhabitants of Mount Dindymus, on the slopes of which the city of Cyzicus was built. These giants, when the Argonauts had ascended the mountain to reconnoitre,

with the exception of Herakles, who remained behind to watch the ship, attacked the vessel with huge rocks which they hurled into the sea. They were, however, destroyed by the arrows of Herakles and of the Argonauts returning from their expedition up the mountain (Apoll. Rhod. i. 942, 989).

12. *Obv.* Naked warrior wearing crested Corinthian helmet kneeling right, holding in both hands an arrow, the shaft of which he is examining before fixing it in the bow; in front, a strung bow; behind him, a tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247. Pl. VIII. 17.

Another.—El. 248·2. Pl. VIII. 18.

[Mionnet, Pl. XLIII. 3.]

Possibly Jason or another of the Argonauts about to discharge an arrow against the giants.

13. *Obv.* Naked male figure kneeling left on tunny and stooping forward; on his right arm is a crested helmet, in his left hand a sword.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 246. Pl. VIII. 16.

[Unpublished.]

Perhaps one of the Argonauts.

14. *Obv.* Young male head left, with stag's ear and horn; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·3. Pl. VIII. 19.

[Payne Knight, p, 126, under "Ephesus."]

Probably Actæon, who surprised Artemis while bathing, and was forthwith transformed by her into a stag, and torn to pieces by his own dogs. His head on the coins of Cyzicus may have some connection with the cultus of Artemis, who was worshipped under the name of Thermæa

in a temple near the Æsepus, where there were warm springs. These baths on the Æsepus may have been looked upon by the inhabitants of the district as the site of the event, although the true home of the myth is held to be Mount Pelion.

15. *Obv.* Bearded satyr seated right on tunny; he holds in each hand a flute (?).

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·9. Pl. VIII. 20.
[Unpublished.]

This is, perhaps, Marsyas, who is generally represented as a satyr (cf. K. O. Müller, "Denkmäler der alten Kunst," Th. ii. Pl. XIV. 150, 151, Pl. XLI. 488, 489). He held the same position in the orgiastic worship of Cybele, which is said to have been established at Cyzicus on Mount Dindymus by the Argonauts (Strab. xii. 575), as Silenus did in that of Dionysus.

16. *Obv.* Fore-part of man-headed bull swimming right; behind, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 246·5. Pl. VIII. 21.

Probably the River Æsepus, who occurs on the coins of Cyzicus as late as the time of Septimius Severus (Mion., Suppl. v. 338, No. 365, with the legend ΑΙϹΗΠΟϹ), or, perhaps, the Rhyndacus, an important navigable river which formed the eastern boundary of the Cyzicene territory, and is alluded to in the Sibylline oracle—

Κύζικ' ὦ οἰκήτειρα Προποντίδος οἰνοπόλοιο
Ῥύνδακος ἀμφὶ σὲ κῦμα κορυσσόμενον σμαραγήσει.

Von Sallet (Zeitsch. f. Num., ii. p. 123) takes this type to be merely a copy of the well-known coins of Gela in Sicily.

17. *Obv.* Female figure, Nike? wearing long chiton seated left on dolphin. She holds wreath in right and shield on left arm; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 249. Pl. VIII. 22.

Another (different die).—El. 248·1.

[Brandis, p. 407. Weight 16·05 gr.]

18. *Obv.* Pegasus flying, right; beneath, tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. El. 247·7. Pl. VIII. 23.

[Unpublished.]

The Pegasus is as appropriate to the town of Zeleia, at this period included in the territory of Cyzicus, as the Chimæra which, as I have elsewhere shown ("Num. Chron." 1875, p. 285), was in Lydian times the type of the coinage of this city.

19. *Obv.* Cerberus left on tunny, two heads only visible, his tail ending in snake's head.

Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 24. El. 250·4.

Another.—El. 247·9.

[Unpublished. Cf. Brandis, p. 404, hecte.]

The town of Cimmerium on the Cimmerian Bosporus, with which district Cyzicus was in constant commercial intercourse, was, as we learn from Pliny vi. 6, originally called Cerberion. Hence, perhaps, the type of this coin.

20. *Obv.* Griffin advancing left on tunny; his right fore-paw raised.

Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 25. El. 246·5.

Another (different die).—El. 247·8.

[Brandis, p. 398.]

This coin is attributed by Brandis to Teos as a member of the Cyzicene league. In my own opinion, if the sup-

posed Cyzicene monetary league had any actual existence, it must have been confined to the immediate territory of the city, or at any rate to the coasts of the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Cimmerian Bosporus.

21. *Obv.* Lion advancing left on tunny.
Rev. Same as No. 1. El. (? weight).

Of this coin I have seen an impression only. It is not identical with one in the British Museum having the type of a lion apparently devouring his prey. The two varieties are badly represented in Sestini's "Stateri Antichi," Pl. IV. 16, 18.

22. *Obv.* Lion's scalp facing; beneath, tunny.
Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 26. El. 250·5.
[Unpublished. Cf. Mion., Suppl. IX., Pl. X. 9, hecte.]

23. *Obv.* Bull walking left on tunny.
Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 28. El. 246·9.
[Brandis, p. 388.]

The correctness of Brandis's attribution of this coin to Calchedon seems to me open to much doubt. The bull is a type of too frequent occurrence to furnish any distinct clue to a definite attribution.

24. *Obv.* Bull butting right on tunny.
Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 27. El. 247·1.
[Unpublished.]

25. *Obv.* Bull's head left; beneath, tunny.
Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 29. El. 247·5.
[Unpublished. Cf. Brandis, p. 404, hecte.]

26. *Obv.* Ram, left, standing on tunny.

Rev. Same as No. 1. Pl. VIII. 30. El. 247·3.

[Brandis, p. 404.]

Possibly in allusion to the myth of Helle. On gold staters of the neighbouring Lampsacus (Prokesch Osten, ined. 1854, Taf. IV. 8) she appears riding on the ram.

27. *Obv.* Fore-part of sea-horse, winged, left; beneath, Ξ; the whole in vine wreath.

Rev. Incuse square divided into four quarters, of which the two alternate ones are shallow and the other two deeply incuse. Pl. VIII. 31. El. 235·5.

Another.—El. 235.

Another.—El. 234·7.

Another.—El. 234·6.

[Unpublished.]

In addition to the forty specimens enumerated above, I am informed that Mr. A. J. Lawson of Smyrna has, or lately had, in his possession, in addition to No. 21, an example each of Nos. 3, 10 (?), and 17, and that Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent had twelve specimens, viz. Nos 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24, 25, 27. This makes in all a total of fifty-six electrum staters. The hoard also contained at least one gold daric.

Obv. King kneeling right with bow and lance.

Rev. Usual incuse. *N* 129 gr. Pl. VIII. 1.

In No. 27 above described we have a coin of Lampsacus represented in this find by five examples of a class hitherto unknown to numismatists. It will be observed that these coins differ materially from the Cyzicene staters in the following points:—

1. They do not bear the tunny fish, the well-known symbol of the Cyzicene mint.

2. They are marked with the letter Ξ, probably the initial letter of a magistrate's name.

3. The reverse is not of the usual Cyzicene (mill-sail) pattern.

4. The weight is from 12 to 15 grains lighter than that of the staters of Cyzicus.

Of course there can be no doubt that Lampsacus is the city to which these new electrum staters must be attributed, but they must not be confounded with the earlier electrum coinage of that city on the Græco-Asiatic standard, the stater of which weighed about 215 grains.[2] There is, however, in the Luynes Collection a stater of Lampsacus weighing 234 grains, which may be identical with these recently discovered coins, although Brandis in his description of it (p. 389) makes no mention of a vine wreath or letter Ξ.[3]

Now it cannot for a moment be disputed that the electrum staters of Lampsacus in the present find are contemporary with the Cyzicenes which form the bulk of the treasure; and some light may be thrown upon the date of both these classes of coins by comparing this electrum currency of Lampsacus with the gold coins of the same city, well known to numismatists as Lampsacene staters.

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[2] Head, B. V., "Metrological Notes on Ancient Electrum, &c.," Pl. VII. 8.

[3] Beside the stater of Lampsacus, now for the first time published, the only other stater of the Cyzicene class which is without the symbol of Cyzicus is one of Chios ("Rev. Num.," 1864, Pl. I. 4), the sphinx upon which is also surrounded by a vine wreath similar to that on the present specimen of Lampsacus. The two coins are probably contemporary.

One of these gold coins of Lampsacus bears the portrait of the Persian satrap Pharnabazus,[4] and among the fourteen varieties of this currency described by Brandis (pp. 409, 427) not a single one is, if style be any criterion, earlier than the time of Pharnabazus, who succeeded to the satrapy of the Hellespont about B.C. 413.

That this gold currency was no mere exceptional or tentative experiment, no sooner adopted than abandoned, is evident from the great number of types of Lampsacene gold money which are to be found at the present day in various cabinets. In it we cannot fail to recognise a coinage which must have continued for a considerable number of years.

Now it is hardly conceivable that a city like Lampsacus should have had at the same time a gold currency and an electrum currency, the respective staters of which known by one and the same name as στατῆρες Λαμψακηνοί would have occasioned perpetual confusion in commercial transactions. It may be considered therefore as certain that the electrum coinage preceded the gold coinage, which

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[4] Waddington, "Mélanges, &c.," 1861, Pl. VII. 3. M. Waddington is of opinion that the portrait on this coin is that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B.C. 405—359; but the Great King is always represented as wearing the lofty *kitaris*, by which he is always to be distinguished from his subjects of whatever rank. The head-dress of the satraps is the low tiara, as on this coin, and on a silver stater of Cyzicus with the same portrait, and the inscription ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑ. This inscription, in my opinion, is sufficient to prove that all the coins said to represent Artaxerxes II. give us, in reality, portraits of Pharnabazus. The portrait itself, also, is that of a man of middle age, and far more suitable to a man in the prime of life like Pharnabazus in B.C. 400 than to the very youthful king who succeeded to the throne in B.C. 405, at the age of nineteen, for the coins in question can hardly be much later than the end of the fifth century.

latter there can be little doubt continued to be struck until it was finally superseded by the gold money of Philip and Alexander.

A similar pure gold coinage was adopted at Rhodes,[5] Clazomenæ,[6] Abydos,[7] and other towns, and during the time of Pharnabazus at Cyzicus itself,[8] though in this case it was probably only an exceptional currency of short duration. Panticapæum also during the same period commenced the issue of gold staters, of which numerous varieties are known, and which continued to be struck down to the time of Philip and Alexander;[9] and last, but not least, Athens herself, who during the time of her greatest prosperity had been content with a silver currency, began, probably about the commencement of the fourth century, to strike money in gold.

This general adoption of gold at about the same period by cities so widely distant from one another is a fact which is well worth the attention of the historian, as it would seem to indicate some change in the respective values of the precious metals, or at any rate that the electrum currency of Cyzicus, Phocæa, Lampsacus, &c., which had been universally accepted throughout the latter half of the fifth century, was no longer current at the same rate of exchange as of old.

But to return to the staters of Lampsacus now for the first time brought to light, it is evident, if I am right as to the date of the commencement of the gold coinage above mentioned, that it is these electrum coins which

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[5] Waddington, "Mélanges, &c.," 1867, Pl. IV. 5.
[6] Leake, "As. Gr.," 43.
[7] Sestini, "Stateri Antichi," Pl. VII. 16.
[8] Luynes, "Satrapies," Pl. I. 6.
[9] Koehne, "Mus. Kotschoubey," vol. i., pp. 325 *sqq.*

are alluded to in the accounts of the Superintendents of Public Works (Ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων) at Athens for the year B.C. 434, where mention is made of seventy Lampsacene gold staters and twenty-seven Cyzicene gold staters and a hecte.

ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΑΤΕΡΕΣ [ΛΑΜΨ]ΑΚΕΝΟΙ } = χρυσοῦ στατῆρες Λαμψακηνοί.

ΣΣ [ΧΡΥΣΟ]ΣΤΑΤΕΡΕ[Σ] HEKTE ⁝ Κ[ΥΖΙΚΕΝ]ΟΙ } = ἕκτη χρυσοῦ στατῆρες Κυζικηνοί.

["Corpus Inscr. Att.," vol. i. p. 158 *sqq.*, No. 301, Berlin, 1873, ed. Kirchhoff.]

In the inscriptions immediately following, viz. in Nos. 304, 308, 309, 310, and 311, which are all about the same date, mention is again made in the same terms of Lampsacene and Cyzicene staters, and from a comparison with these the lacunæ in No. 301 have been easily filled up.

It has been hitherto generally supposed[10] that the Lampsacene staters here referred to are the well-known gold coins of that city, but this does not necessarily follow, and is now, I think, disproved; for that the term χρυσός was used for electrum as well as for pure gold is clear from the very next line of the same inscription, where it is applied to the Cyzicene staters and their well-known divisions the hectæ.

We may accept it therefore as an established historical fact, that in the year B.C. 434 Lampsacene electrum staters were current at Athens; also that in the time of Pharnabazus and Artaxerxes Mnemon, B.C. 405—359, these electrum staters had been superseded by gold

[10] Cf. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1868, p. 423.

staters. The exact time at which the former coinage ceased and the latter took its place can hardly be fixed more minutely. Roughly speaking it may have been about the year B.C. 412, when the whole ancient world was ringing with the news of the Athenian disasters in Sicily, when the power of Athens was believed to have been for ever broken, and when the Greeks of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to Caria and Lycia, were moved by new political considerations, and willingly or unwillingly subjected to new political influences; when orders went forth from the court of Susa to the satraps of the maritime provinces once more to demand and collect the tribute of the Greek coast towns, which, during the hegemony of Athens had found its way into the coffers of the Athenian treasury. Between this renewed taxation of the Asiatic Greeks by the Persians, and the introduction in some towns of a gold coinage regulated according to the Persian daric standard, some connection may perhaps be traced.[11]

With regard to the date of the deposit of the present hoard it is impossible to speak with certainty. There are assuredly no coins in the find which we can suppose to be earlier than the middle of the fifth century; and on the other hand I see no reason to assume that any among them are later than the end of that century. It is also worthy of note that the gold daric which I have seen from this hoard is of the type attributed by Brandis to the earlier Achæmenidæ.

There are nevertheless reasons for supposing that the

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[11] It is a curious coincidence that in this same year, B.C. 412, the Greek cities of Sicily, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Gela, and, we may now add, Catana, began for the first time to issue gold money (Head, "Coinage of Syracuse," pp. 17, 18).

date of this hoard (though not of all Cyzicenes) is not later than B.C. 412 or thereabouts. These reasons, which partake of the character of negative evidence, are based upon the classes of coins represented and unrepresented in the hoard.

As may be seen from the preceding catalogue, the treasure consisted of—

1 or more gold darics.
51 electrum staters of Cyzicus.
5 do. do. of Lampsacus.

The class of coins not found in the hoard, and which, had it been deposited much later than B.C. 412, we might reasonably have expected to find represented by at least one or two specimens, is that of the Lampsacene gold currency, which, as we have seen above, must have superseded the electrum of that city during the latter years of the fifth century.

With regard to the date of the Cyzicene staters in general, M. Ch. Lenormant, in an elaborate article in the "Rev. Num.," 1856, endeavours to prove that the period of their emission lay between about B.C. 420 and 331, and that by far the greater number were struck between the peace of Antalcidas, in B.C. 387, and the latter date, and this opinion has, I believe, been generally concurred in by numismatists (cf. F. Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1864, 1867; "Mommsen," ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 3; "Brandis," p. 177). All these writers, I imagine, accept Lenormant's interpretation of the inscription ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙ[Α] on a Cyzicene stater engraved by Millingen [12] as referring to Alexander's victory at the Granicus, B.C. 334. It is not therefore without due consideration that I venture to

[12] "Ancient Greek Coins," Pl. V. 11.

differ from such high authorities. In the first place, admitting, as I do, that the coin in question is one of the latest of the Cyzicenes, I entirely fail to see that in style it is as late as the time of Alexander; on the contrary, it recalls forcibly to my mind the style of art prevalent on coins in the earlier part of the fourth century. The secondary inscription in minute letters is especially characteristic of an earlier period, viz. the fifth and the earlier portion of the fourth century B.C. Cf. the coins of Messana with ΠΑΝ (Salinas, "Periodico di Num.," &c., vol. iii. Pl. I. 6); of Syracuse with ΑΡΕΘΟΣΑ and ΛΕΥΚΑΣΠΙΣ (Head, "Coinage of Syracuse," Pl. IV. 9, V. 6); of Locri Opuntii with ΑΙΑΣ; and of Arcadia with the figure of Pan seated on rocks, on which, in small characters, ΟΛΥΜ, struck at the time of the emancipation of Arcadia, *circ.* 370. For my own part, therefore, I would attribute the stater with ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ not to the time of Alexander and his victory at the Granicus, but to the year of Conon's great victory at Cnidus, B.C. 394, when the power of Athens was for a time restored in Asia, and when Pharnabazus and Conon sailed from city to city, everywhere expelling the Spartan harmosts, and proclaiming the autonomy of the Greek towns.[13]

As, however, I do not think that it can be disputed that the coin with ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ is one of the most recent among the Cyzicene staters, it follows, if I am right in assigning it to the early part of the fourth century, that the issue of electrum staters at Cyzicus did not long survive the introduction of a pure gold coinage at the neighbouring cities of Lampsacus and Abydos, and that

[13] Xen. "Hell.," IV. viii. 1—2.

the gold coinage both at Panticapæum and at Athens began to be issued about the time that Cyzicus ceased to strike electrum staters.

It is none the less true that vast quantities of Cyzicenes must have continued to circulate, especially in the remoter districts, for very many years after the general introduction of gold money. In fact, we know that this was the case in the time of Demosthenes,[14] and probably as late as B.C. 333, during the reign of Paerisades, King of Bosporus, when the Cyzicene stater passed current in Bosporus as equivalent to 28 Attic drachms. A rate of exchange as low as this cannot, it is almost needless to say, have been that of the Cyzicene stater in earlier times, but it may be easily accounted for when we remember that at this period the gold-mines at Philippi were in full work, and were yielding as much as a thousand talents a year, and that the gold staters of Philip and Alexander were being issued from numerous mints in countless numbers.

The survival of the Cyzicenes as current coins for the space of at least half a century after they had ceased to be issued, although a fact worthy of note, is by no means a matter for surprise, and we must beware of twisting Demosthenes' statement as to the value of the Cyzicene stater in Bosporus during the reign of Alexander so as to make it apply to these coins in the previous century, at a time when they were, with the exception of the darics, the only χρυσοῦς current in the Greek world.

The time at which Cyzicus began to issue her famous staters is even more difficult to fix than the period when she ceased to do so.

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[14] c. Phorm., 34, 23.

The earliest allusion to these coins with which I am acquainted is about the year B.C. 445 in the Lygdamis inscription,[15] where mention is made of a ἡμίεκτον (l. 26), and of staters (l. 38); and as at this period the ancient Ionian and Lydian electrum coinage of the seventh and sixth centuries was no longer in circulation, the only coins which can possibly be intended are those either of Phocæa or of Cyzicus. Of the former city, with the exception of her sixth-century[16] currency, at this time no longer in use, no staters have been handed down to us, but only hectæ, which are common, and bear the seal as an adjunct symbol. Of Cyzicus, on the other hand, several staters of archaic work are known (cf. "Berl. Blätt.," vol. iv. Pl. XLIV. 1, winged figure holding a tunny in each hand; "Rev. Num.," 1856, Pl. I. 6, 7, archaic heads; also others in the British Museum), which are certainly earlier than the Lygdamis inscription, and must be given to the first half of the fifth century. The next mention made of Cyzicene staters is in the inscriptions already quoted (p. 290), which date from the year B.C. 434. In these inscriptions they are mentioned no less than seven times, and are always coupled with staters of Lampsacus, which in colour and fabric are so like the Cyzicenes as to be easily mistaken for them, while in weight there is just sufficient difference to make it necessary in an official document to distinguish between the two sorts, for supposing the Cyzicene stater about this time to have been worth about 37 Attic drachms, the Lampsacene would have been equivalent to about 35.

In the year B.C. 429 mention is again made of Cyzicene

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[15] Newton, "Discoveries at Halicarnassus," &c., vol. ii. part ii. p. 671.

[16] Head, "Ancient Electrum," Pl. X. 6.

staters in the treasure lists of the Ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν ("Corp. Inscr. Att.," Nos. 197, 201, 207, 210 twice, and 223). In these instances they are no longer called χρυσοῦ στατῆρες Κυζικηνοὶ, but Κυζικηνοῦ χρυσίου στατῆρες; but that χρυσός and χρυσίον are convertible terms is evident from No. 207, where mention is made of Κυζικηνοῦ χρυσίου στατῆρες and Δαρεικοῦ χρυσίου στατῆρες, electrum and pure gold being designated by the same word χρυσίον.

There follows an interval of ten years, during which no specific mention is made in the Attic inscriptions which have come down to us of Cyzicene staters, but in B.C. 422 and following years, in the inventory of the treasures preserved in the Parthenon, we find a τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦν—σταθμὸν τούτου ΓΗΗΙΙC=7 drachms 2½ obols in weight, which is exactly 500·6 English grains, or just two Cyzicene staters of 250·3 grains (cf. Nos 19 and 22 in the preceding catalogue, where this weight is reached, and even somewhat exceeded). This coin, from the very fact of its having been deposited in the Parthenon, was doubtless looked upon at the time as an extraordinary piece, and it is not astonishing that no specimen should have been handed down to us.

The next specifications of Cyzicene staters occur in the accounts of the yearly expenditure of the Board of the Treasury of Athena for the years B.C. 418, 416, 415, 412, and 406 ("Corp. Inscr. Att.," 180, 182, 183, 184, 191).

B.C. 418. χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ στατῆρες XXXX = 4,000 Cyzicene staters.

B.C. 416. χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ στατῆρες . . . . ΗΗΙΙIC
The numerals at the end of the line signifying 8 drachms 3½ obols, are probably the latter portion of the valuation in Attic money of the aforesaid Cyzicene staters.

B.C. 415. καὶ χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ ΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΣΣΣ / ΣΣΣΣΣΣΣ
"and of Cyzicene gold 255 staters" (see Newton and Hicks, "Anc. Gk. Inscr.," Part I., Attica, p. 50).

B.C. 412. χρυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ . . . . .

B.C. 406. Ἀθηναίας Κυ[ζικηνοὶ στατῆρες] ΔΔΔΔΣΣΣΣ / ΣΣΣ = 47 Cyzicene staters.

After B.C. 404 mention is only twice made of Cyzicene gold in inscriptions (see Lenormant, "Rev. Num.," 1867, p. 349). By writers, on the other hand, they are not unfrequently alluded to; *e.g.* Lysias, in his oration against Eratosthenes (p. 121), mentions τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς, and again, in that against Diogeiton (32, 6), τριάκοντα στατῆρας κυζικηνοὺς, whence it is evident that at that time, B.C. 403, they, together with the darics, formed the principal gold currency of Greece. From Xenophon ("Anab.," v. 6, 23; vii. 3, 10) we learn that in B.C. 400 a Cyzicene a month was promised to the soldiers as an advance upon their ordinary pay, which was probably a daric a month.

From this time until that of Demosthenes, in his oration against Phormio, B.C. 333, above alluded to, no mention is made, as far as I am aware, either by writers or in inscriptions, of Cyzicene staters; and, as I have already shown, at this late period, although they continued to circulate in the remoter districts, they were probably fast passing into the category of the money of bygone days.

For my own part, I am fully persuaded, by reason both of the art-work of the specimens which have come down to us, which ranges from the archaic to the late fine style, and of the notices of these coins in ancient inscriptions

from B.C. 445—404, and in writers (Demosthenes excepted) down to 400, that the activity of the Cyzicene mint corresponds roughly with the period during which the Asiatic Greeks, for the most part under the protection of Athens from the year B.C. 478, were to a great extent independent of Persian rule, a state of things which was not finally put an end to until B.C. 387, the date of the peace of Antalcidas.

But whether I am right in assigning the Cyzicene electrum staters to the period between B.C. 478 and 387, or whether M. Ch. Lenormant was right in attributing the majority of them to the time between 387 and 330, I leave to the judgment of numismatists; and I am not without hope that the coins which I have been the means of publishing for the first time in these pages, especially the remarkable coin of Lampsacus, may, if made the subject of further investigation, shed still more light on this obscure question.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

XIV.

THE DATE OF KING MOSTIS, AND OF CERTAIN LATER COINS OF THASOS.

Discoveries which at first sight appear small have often a use far beyond that which would have seemed probable. For this reason I hasten to lay before the Numismatic Society an account of a discovery which may, when worked up with materials partly within, and partly for the present without, my reach, throw some light on the subject with which I am concerned in the present paper.

There has long been in the British Museum a tetradrachm of a Thracian or Epirote King Mostis, of whom history tells us nothing. This coin, which is engraved in Visconti's great work, may be thus described :—

> *Obv.*—Head of the king, right, diademed.
>
> *Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΟΣΤΙΔΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΣΑΔΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΛΗ. Pallas seated, left, on throne, armed, holds in hand wreath-bearing Nike, left; her left hand rests on throne, against which leans a shield (type of Lysimachus). In field left ΙΜ. Weight, 250·4 grains. (Plate IX. 1.)

A coin similar in all respects except that there are two monograms in the place of the ΙΜ, and in the exergue no

ASHMOLEAN OXFORD MUSEUM

magistrate's name and the date KB (22) has been published from the French Collection by M. Chabouillet.[1]

Having occasion the other day to examine the piece in the British Museum with minuteness, I suddenly observed that it was re-struck, and that traces of a previous impression remained. After some trouble I was able to prove with certainty that the coin which had been selected to receive the types of King Mostis was a tetradrachm of the island of Thasos, one of the well-known class bearing the inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ (cf. Plate IX. 2).

The testimony offered by re-struck coins is of all testimony the most irrefragable; we have here a certain proof that the coins of Mostis and these Thasian pieces were current together, and struck within a few years of one another, the Thasian coins being quite certainly not the later. And no one can deny the importance of this datum who considers that while probably no numismatist would bring down the coin of Mostis to a later date than the third century B.C., the coins of Thasos have been hitherto a complete puzzle to numismatists, the last theory on the subject being that of Dr. von Sallet,[2] who places them at the period of the Thracian revolt against Rome in B.C. 16.

The reverse type of the coins of Mostis is clearly not original, but an exact copy of that of Lysimachus. But it would be a very hasty conclusion if we hence inferred that his period follows close on that of Lysimachus. For M. Müller of Copenhagen has conclusively proved that several cities, and notably Byzantium and Chalcedon,

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[1] "Dissertation sur un Statère d'Or d'un Roi inconnu Acès ou Acas." Paris, 1866, p. 21.

[2] "Zeitschr. für Numism.," bd. iii.

issued coins bearing the types of Lysimachus after his death, and not during his reign. In fact, some civic imitations of the issues of Lysimachus and Alexander the Great were current in the Levant even in Roman times, as is proved by a specimen of the Lysimachian coinage of Byzantium in the British Museum which bears the countermark **CL CÆS** (Claudius Cæsar), and in weight (gr. 224·5) approaches the cistophorus. This instance, however, is abnormal. I heartily agree with the theory of M. Müller[3] that the Byzantine and other imitations of Lysimachus were mostly issued during the period when the Gauls were settled in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, and paid as tribute to those barbarians by the Byzantines. It is well known that barbarous peoples constantly refuse to accept coins bearing types to which they are unaccustomed. Thus the people of Abyssinia at the time of the English expedition to Magdala would accept nothing but the dollars of Maria Theresa, of which seven millions were struck for English use. So the Gauls of the third century B.C. had a great partiality for pieces bearing the reverse types of Alexander and of Lysimachus, and the free Greeks of Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Odessus found it prudent to indulge their fancy.

For themselves the Gauls were contented to produce utterly barbarous and unmeaning imitations of these coins, the abundance of which throughout the countries bordering on the Danube is constantly exemplified wherever extensive excavations take place. The later coins of Thasos were also favourite subjects for the Gaulish copyist, who made imitations of every degree of badness, until the types become finally undistinguishable.

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[3] "Münzen das Königs Lysimachos," p. 27.

Now the Gauls, under their King Cavarus, suffered complete defeat near the end of the third century; it is even said that the tribe perished to the last man; at all events it is certain that the Thracians reoccupied the districts about Byzantium. This fact seems to me to prove that the issues both of Byzantium and Thasos at all events began before the end of the third century.

The three sets of coins bearing the legends ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ and ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΩΝ were clearly issued at nearly the same period. This period has been by most writers supposed to be quite late in consequence of the rude style of the work. This rudeness, however, seems to me to be characteristic not of late but of barbarous times, and is by no means inconsistent with the above theory. I am, however, surprised to find that no one seems as yet to have understood the allusion contained in the peculiar legends of these coins. The Gaulish invasion of Greece in the third century was of a very different character from any invasion by Hellenes, or Macedonians, or even Thracians. The Gauls hated and despised the religion of Greece; to plunder and to burn temples was their great end and delight. This opposition roused all the sense of religion which yet remained in the Greek breast. When, after passing Thermopylæ, Brennus marched on the temple of Delphi, Apollo himself undertook the guardianship of his treasures and his people. He appeared in person, accompanied by the warlike virgins Pallas and Artemis, and inflicted a terrific defeat upon his attackers. This scene is supposed to be represented on a late Greek vase; and it is a charming conjecture of Preller that the statue called the Apollo Belvedere, which is

faultily restored, really represents the god shaking his ægis in the face of the barbarous Gaulish foe. Of other expeditions of the Gauls in Northern Hellas we know little, but if Thasos and Maronea escaped their yoke, what was more natural than that they should ascribe their deliverance to a special interposition of their guardian deities, who would not wish to see holy rites trampled under foot, and sacred temples plundered and burnt? And what more natural than that their gratitude should appear on their coin? To no other occasion can we so fitly ascribe the introduction of original and strikingly religious types, however bizarre it may at first sight appear to ascribe the Apollo Belvedere and these hideous coins to the same wave of religious revival. With the pieces of Thasos and Maronea must also be classed the rare coin of Odessus, with the legend ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΚΥΡΣΑ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ[4] and others. Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon himself adopted the type of Pan in memory of the sudden terror spread on one occasion by that deity among the Gauls.

I am aware of but three arguments for the later date of the Thasian coins. Of the first, their rudeness of style, I have already spoken, and can but repeat that this rudeness does not indicate a late date, but rather a time of great disturbance. If we compare them first with the coins of Antigonus Gonatas and then with those of Philip V. and Perseus, we shall see that they rather resemble the former. The second argument is furnished by a piece in the Dresden cabinet resembling the above-mentioned coins of Maronea in all respects except the legend, which is

[4] Mionnet, vol. i. p. 395.

ΚΟΤΥΟϹ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗ[Ρ], the Ϲ of the king's name being semi-lunar. Upon this legend I do not wish to throw any doubt, although the piece does not seem to have been lately collated. But we have no ground for putting this Cotys to a late period. The Ϲ itself is by no means an impossibility in Thrace in the third century B.C., while the absence of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ would even seem to point preferably to an early date. The third argument is drawn from a coin preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge,[5] of the ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ type, but with the magistrate's name ϹΛR. These letters perhaps stand for the name of Bruttius Sura, who was proprætor in Macedonia in the year B.C. 88;[6] but if it be so, this will only prove that the coins were still struck in his time, but not decide the date of their first issue, only it will be fatal to Von Sallet's theory that they first appeared as late as B.C. 16.

There seems, then, to be good reason for believing that the coins of Thasos, Maronea, &c., now under discussion, were first issued during the period B.C. 280—212, although some of them may be of more recent date. Mostis, therefore, who re-struck these coins, must have lived at about the same period. This is just what an independent examination of his types and fabric would have led us to suspect. I must, however, say a few words as to the dates of 22 and 38 which appear on his coins. Previous writers have supposed these dates to

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[5] Leake, "Num. Hellen. Islands," p. 45. See Pl. IX. 8.

[6] M. Bompois, indeed, in his recent and excellent work on the later Macedonian coins, maintains that there was probably a second Sura proquæstor in Macedonia in the time of Pompeius Magnus. I might well give way to him without invalidating the argument.

refer either, as Visconti supposes, to the years of his reign, or, as M. Chabouillet says, to an era peculiar to his dynasty, and of which we have no other trace. It is, however, very improbable that in those most unsettled times a Thracian kinglet should rule for thirty-eight years unless he had talent enough to make himself a place in history, which this Mostis has not done. The oft-quoted law of parsimony would compel us to reject M. Chabouillet's theory if any other will suit the case; in fact that theory amounts only to a confession of ignorance. But is there no known era to which the date here can refer? The Seleucid era will give us the years 290 and 274 for the reign of Mostis; but in 290 the Gauls had not yet broken in, and Lysimachus was still ruling over the whole of Thrace. There is, however, another era which suits our data far better—that which is used by the Kings of Pontus and of Bosporus, and commences, for reasons unknown, in the year B.C. 296. Reckoning by this era, our coins would give us for the reign of Mostis the dates B.C. 274 and 258; and I confess that I am content to accept this reading until we get light from a fresh quarter. The close connection between the races that ruled in Pontus and in Thrace is proved by the fact that several names, as Cotys, Rhescuporis, and Rhœmetalces, are common to the regal lists of both countries; and as we are ignorant of the origin of the Pontic era, it may have had its beginning in some event which affected all that part of Europe.

As to the country over which Mostis ruled, the evidence is fairly complete. His name is certainly Thracian, the termination ις—ιδος for male names being rare except in that country, where it is common, Rhescuporis being a case in point. This king closely copies the

types of Lysimachus, and re-strikes on coins of Thasos, so that in all probability his kingdom was in Eastern Thrace, certainly not in Epirus. As to the bronze coins which bear Epirote types and the name of Mostis, M. Chabouillet is almost certainly right in supposing that they belong to another dynast, whose power lay in Epirus.

PERCY GARDNER.

XV.

A MONETARY LEAGUE ON THE EUXINE SEA.

"It were much to be desired," writes the illustrious historian[1] of the Roman coinage, "in order to a clearer understanding of the municipal arrangements of the imperial times, that a thorough investigation should be made of the relations which subsisted between the respective rights of coinage of the various towns and their known constitutions under the Empire." Encouraged by this valuable remark, I venture to bring before the readers of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE the substance of some observations which I have recently made with regard to the Imperial coins of the cities on the western shore of the Euxine, and which seem to me of some interest.

In the British Museum are fifty-eight coins of Tomi, in Mœsia Inferior, of the imperial period after Marcus Aurelius. Of these, every single specimen, with the exception of those of the smallest size, bears in the field one of the four first letters of the Greek alphabet. And it appears on a second examination that these letters have reference to one circumstance only, the size of the coin,

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[1] Mommsen, "Geschichte des Röm. Münzwesens," p. 784.

the weight of course following the size. Pieces of the largest size (about Mionnet's 7th) bear a Δ; pieces of the second size (about Mionnet's 6th) a Γ; pieces of the third size (Mionnet's 5th) a Β, while the coins of the smallest size are without any letter. Now these letters cannot mark the year of the reign of the prince who issued them, for in that case we should sometimes have a higher numeral than the Greek Δ; nor in fact is any explanation possible for them but one—they are marks of value. The coins with no letter on them are units, those bearing Β are pieces of two, those bearing Γ pieces of three, those bearing Δ pieces of four units.

These marks of value are, as I have said, universal among the later coins of Tomi in the British Museum, nor is in any instance that mark of value inconsistent with the size and weight. There are, however, two coins which offer a peculiarity. Of those one is of size 6½, and bears Δ Ϲ, the other is of size 4, and bears Α Ϲ.[2] I think that the addition of the Ϲ in these cases, at first sight confusing, turns out on a second inspection to offer us a clue to the meaning of the letters in every case. In my opinion it stands for the Latin word *semis*, bodily adopted into the

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[2] These two pieces will be found in Plate IX. Nos. 5 and 11. It has since occurred to me that in the case of No. 5 the Ϲ may be only the final letter of the word ΤΟΜΕΩΣ, for it is very unusual to omit altogether that final letter. On the other hand it does not seem likely that the moneyers of Tomi would, by rashly inserting a Ϲ in the usual place of the mark of value, run the risk of making the piece circulate at more than its real value. Finally, there is in the British Museum another piece of Tomi bearing the portraits of Gordianus Pius and Tranquillina, and weighing 199 gr., which *does* bear most indubitably the letters Δ and Ϲ in the field of the reverse.

Greek tongue just as were the Latin words Augustus, Pius, prætorium, and others. Indeed, on the coins of Pæstum,[3] we find on a coin which is supposed to be a sescuncia a ball and the letter Σ, which would prove that in Italy at a far earlier period the word *semis* was adopted into the Greek tongue. We have then here, in addition to pieces of 1, 2, 3, and 4 units, pieces of 1½ and 4½ respectively.

These marks of value are by no means peculiar to the city of Tomi. Some or all of the letters Β, Γ, Δ, and Ε appear also on the coins of almost every one of the cities on the west coast of the Black Sea, from Olbia on the north to Anchialus on the south, which issued money in imperial times. Marks of value appear on all the imperial coins of Callatia, Olbia, Dionysopolis, and Tyra in the British Museum, and on some of the coins of Istrus, Odessus, Anchialus, and Marcianopolis. There is indeed one apparent exception. Mesembria does not use these marks of value. It is, however, to be observed that all the coins of Mesembria are of about the same size (Mionnet, 6 to 7) and similar weight, about 160 to 220 gr. (Pl. IX. 13). They are probably all pieces of five or possibly four units, and being all alike needed no distinguishing mark. From the cabinets of the British Museum I have selected twenty-one coins of various cities marked with letters, together with one coin of Tomi of the smallest size, and of the value, as I judge, of one unit, and one coin of Bizya in Thrace, which is counter-marked with a Δ, and so stamped for currency in those regions (Pl. IX. 14).

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[3] "Cat. Greek Coins. Italy," p. 277.

		Letter	Size (Mionnet)	Weight (grains)
SARMATIA.				
1. Olbia . . .	Severus Alexander .	Δ	5½	131
2. Tyra . . .	Septimius Severus .	Δ	5½	112
MŒSIA INFERIOR.				
3. Istrus . . .	Severus Alexander .	E	10	306
4. ,, . . .	Elagabalus . . .	E	7½	240
5. ,, . . .	Tranquillina . . .	Γ	5	101
6. Tomi (Pl. IX. 7)	Marcus Aurelius .	Γ	6	178
7. ,, (Pl. IX. 9)	Commodus . . .	B	5	140
8. ,, (Pl. IX. 5)	Gordianus Pius . .	ΔΓ	6½	177
9. ,, . . .	Severus Alexander .	Δ	7	179
10. ,, . . .	Otacilia Severa . .	Γ	5½	113
11. ,, (Pl. IX. 10)	Elagabalus . . .	B	4½	74
12. ,, (Pl. IX. 11)	Maximus	AΓ	4	49
13. ,, (Pl. IX. 12)	Caracalla		3	53
14. Callatia . .	Gordianus Pius . .	E	7	210
15. ,, . .	Philippus Junior .	Δ	6½	159
16. Dionysopolis (Pl. IX. 4)	Gordianus Pius . .	E	6	190
17. ,, (Pl. IX. 6)	Severus Alexander .	Δ	6½	158
18. Odessus . .	Gordianus Pius . .	E	7	167
19. Marcianopolis	Caracalla and Domna	E	7	168
20. ,, (Pl. IX. 8)	Diadumenianus . .	Γ	5½	113
THRACIA.				
21. Anchialus . .	Gordianus Pius . .	E	7	189
22. ,, . .	Septimius Severus .	Δ	7½	172
23 Bizya (Pl. IX. 14)	Philippus Jun. counterstruck with Δ .		7	170

I have added the weight of each coin. As I before said, size was regarded rather than weight; No. 3 in my list, for example, is much above the usual weight, but the size of the impression struck on it is just the same as usual. Notwithstanding this, an analysis of the weights given leads to interesting results.

						grains		grammes
Of 7	coins with	E	the average	weight is		210	or	13·60
1	,,	ΔΕ	,,	,,		177	,,	11·47
6	,,	Δ	,,	,,		150	,,	9·72
4	,,	Γ	,,	,,		126	,,	8·16
2	,,	B	,,	,,		107	,,	6·93
1	,,	AΕ	,,	,,		49	,,	3·17
1	,,	no mark	,,	,,		53	,,	3·43

As the pieces were selected not for weight but for preservation, the results thus arrived at, which show considerable regularity, are very satisfactory, and justify us in concluding that the weight of the copper unit recognised in all these coinages was something under 45 grains or 3 French grammes. It is, however, to be observed that the early coins, those of Aurelius and Commodus, are distinctly above the average in weight (see Nos. 6 and 7).

It appears, then, that from the time of Marcus Aurelius to Philippus a certain unit was adopted by the mints of Tomi and the neighbouring cities, and that all coins were stamped with the number of such units they represented. What was this unit? It is quite certain that at this period the Roman aureus and denarius were the coins in which all debts were reckoned, and that the copper coinage, the right of issuing which was still left to most cities of the East, represented the fractional parts of the denarius. Hence we may fairly conclude, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the pieces of copper usually represented a certain number of those asses of

which the denarius contained ten. At Rome we have reason to believe that at this period the copper currency consisted of pieces of 4, 2, 1, and ½ asses. At Chios pieces of 3 and 1½ asses were issued. Hence it is quite fair to suppose that the *as* was at Tomi the unit of value, unless on further investigation any reason appears for thinking otherwise.

I have found by an induction that the weight of this unit is about 45 grains, or 3 French grammes. Forty-five grains of copper may seem a very light weight for the Roman *as* of any period. But in Sicily,[4] in the age of Augustus, asses were struck of less than 60 grains in weight. The *as* of Chios weighed about 30 to 80 grains. The *as* of Rome was at this period much heavier; but it must not be forgotten that we have here to do with coin not of intrinsic value, but of account. The actual weight of the pieces therefore mattered very little, their size and general appearance far more. We English have very much altered in recent years the weight of our copper money, without the slightest effect on commerce.

Nor need it appear in any way strange that the Greek numerals should indicate the number of Latin asses contained in the coins. For even on the Roman coins of Mark Antony we find the signs Α Β Γ Δ used in exactly the same way. The general inscriptions on the coins of Tomi being Greek, the numerals must be Greek also, and even the Latin word *semis* be Græcised.

It is interesting to compare the marks of value presented by the copper coins of the semi-independent kings of Bosporus. These appear commonly from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius, Μ Η, Κ Δ, and Ι Β.

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[4] "Cat. Greek Coins. Sicily," p. 126.

Mommsen maintains that the unit of value here is the Roman uncia, and this seems probable. If it be so, these coins will be pieces of four asses, two, and one. They precede in time the coins which are the subject of the present notice, and so cannot be fairly compared with them; but the corresponding pieces in the two series fairly agree in weight and size.

There can be no reasonable doubt that all the cities on the western shore of the Euxine Sea belonged to a monetary convention, which struck copper money on the uniform standard of an *as* of about 45 grains, or three grammes.

In Boeckh's "Corpus of Greek Inscriptions," is one brought from Odessus,[5] in which mention is made of honours paid to a man ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἄρξαντα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς πενταπόλεως. Hence it would appear that Odessus belonged to a league of five cities, and that the chief magistrate of Odessus was at all events sometimes the governor of the league. The date of this inscription, so far as one can judge from the print in which it is represented by Boeckh, must be very late, probably about the reign of Gordianus Pius. Who were the other members of the league appears from another inscription published in Boeckh,[6] and said to have come from Mesembria, in which honours are recorded as having been conferred on a certain man by Tomi, Istrus, and Apollonia, as well as by two other cities whose names have disappeared from the stone. If the provenance reported for this stone and for that already recited be correct, Odessus, Mesembria, Tomi, Istrus, and Apollonia formed a pentapolis among

[5] Vol. ii. p. 79.
[6] Vol. ii. p. 995.

themselves. And our coins show that their alliance extended to the issuing of money in common, money accepted by all the places on the west coast of the Euxine Sea. Doubtless even the coins of Mesembria, though they do not bear marks of value, were struck on the same standard, and accepted at the same rate.

As to the date of this monetary alliance, the facts are clear. The earliest pieces bearing marks of value are those of Tomi, struck under Marcus Aurelius. At other cities they do not seem to begin so early, not until the reign of Septimius Severus. They continue in uninterrupted succession until the death of Philippus, when the local coinage of this part of the world ceases. They are most usual about the time of Severus Alexander, and Gordianus Pius.

Such is the discovery I have to communicate, which will as I hope prove of service in two respects: it will tend to throw light on the way in which the Greek cities used in Roman times the right of issuing copper coin; and it may perhaps furnish a clue by means of which the denominations of the local copper coins of Asia Minor and the East generally may be discovered. Mesembria on one occasion at least struck money in alliance with Ephesus, so that the coins of Ionia were probably exchangeable on an understood basis with those of the Euxine. But here we come in sight of a large field for inquiry, into which I have not at present the leisure to enter.

PERCY GARDNER.

XVI.

REMARKS ON THE "NUMISMATIQUE DE LA TERRE-SAINTE, PAR F. DE SAULCY, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT. PARIS, 1874."

THIS new work of M. de Saulcy will, no doubt, be welcomed by every lover of the history and antiquities connected with the Holy Land. Hitherto we had only the dry and unsatisfactory catalogue of Mionnet in volume v. of his work, and in the supplement (vol. viii.) of all the published coins of Palestine up to the death of Mionnet. Since then no monograph of these coins has appeared. Though imperfect in many respects, and incomplete, M. de Saulcy has earned the thanks of every numismatist in publishing this work.

I have just stated that it is incomplete, inasmuch as several, and some very important, coins are omitted, which had been published some time before this book had gone to the press. Thus, for instance, we find no mention made of a remarkable coin of Tiberias, struck in the reign of Commodus—*Rev.* ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. CYP. ΠΑΛ; Bust of Serapis to right, Æ.—published in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift" (Wien, 1869, p. 401), a periodical with which M. de Saulcy seems to be well acquainted.

Again, no account is taken of two autonomous coins of Ace in my collection, published by me in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, one in 1862 (p. 108) and the other in

1864 (p. 187). Nor is any mention made of two silver autonomous coins of Ascalon, preserved in my cabinet, and published in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE in 1864 (p. 188). In like manner are passed over without any notice an autonomous coin of Demetrias, and an imperial coin of Caesarea ad Libanum, published in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1862 (p. 106). But the omission of a coin of Augustus, issued at Jerusalem by the imperial governor or procurator, appears to me stranger still. It must be borne in mind that M. de Saulcy, in his former work on Jewish coins ("Numismatique Judaique"), denies the existence of any of these coins before the year 36, giving it as his opinion that Eckhel had misread these coins, and that the one Eckhel read as ΛΓ (or 33) was nothing else but one of ΛϹ (or 36), and that the coin of ΛΕ (35) was a badly preserved one of the year ΛΘ (or 39) ("Num. Jud.," p. 139).

This assumption remained undisputed until, in a paper of mine printed in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, N.S., vol. ii. p. 274, I mentioned that my cabinet contained coins of the years 33[1] and 35[2]; and that the latter date was clear and distinct, and the coin by no means a badly preserved one of the year ΛΘ (or 39), as M. de Saulcy suggested.

Now, after having changed his opinion with regard to the year 33, and acknowledging its existence, it seems scarcely possible that M. de Saulcy should still doubt the

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[1] M. de Saulcy is silent as to the existence of my coin of that date. In 1874 he apparently knows only of two specimens, one in the Cabinet of France, and the other preserved in the cabinet of the late Mr. Wigan. As the learned author refers to Mr. Madden's book on Jewish coins, p. 186, No. 1, it is strange that he has not noticed that on the following page, 187, another coin of this same year is published.

[2] Of each date my cabinet contains two coins at the present moment.

existence and correct reading of a coin of this series of the year 35, as M. de Saulcy must have been aware of my paper, since Mr. Madden has incorporated in his work that portion which had reference to the coins under consideration.[3]

M. de Saulcy still adopts the system of Eckhel in assuming that the era of the autonomous coins is the same as the one employed on the imperial colonial coins, an error which I have endeavoured to make clear in a paper of mine on the "Autonomous Era of the Sidonian Coins," published in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," Wien, 1869. According to the old system, we are constrained to admit that autonomous and imperial coins were issued at the same time.* For instance, on the autonomous coins of Ascalon, we find the same date as on the imperial Roman coins; yet it is perfectly clear that the Roman emperors would never have tolerated an autonomous or republican coinage during their sway of authority over these cities; hence both dates cannot refer to one and the same year. The autonomous or republican coins must have been issued before Rome assumed authority in Palestine. When this took place these cities adopted an era at which the Roman authorities took no umbrage. With the destruction of the autonomy its era must likewise have come to an end. On this hypothesis all calculations of M. de Saulcy respecting the time when these autonomous coins were issued would be erroneous, and we have still to look forward for a more

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[3] "Jewish Coinage," pp. 137, 138.

* [Why not? Cf. the *autonomous* coins of Byzantium bearing the names of magistrates which occur also on *imperial* coins of the same city. Mion. Supp. II. p. 242, No. 225 *sq.*, and p. 267, No. 387 *sq.*—B. V. H.]

satisfactory solution of this difficult question than that which is found in the pages of that learned writer's work.

The plates added to the work are exceedingly well executed, but it is to be regretted that there are no references to them in the body of the work. I think few will approve of the arrangement of the work, nor of the curious division of the Holy Land adopted by M. de Saulcy.

M. de Saulcy has ascribed several coins to cities hitherto unknown in the numismatic geography of Palestine. He attributes one coin (p. 111), which he obtained at Jerusalem, to Apollonia, an insignificant harbour north of Jaffa (Manaert's "Geogr.," v. 197). The fact that this coin was acquired at Jerusalem is no doubt in favour of its being a coin of Palestine. But who can say that it was actually found in the Holy Land? Thousands of Christian pilgrims come annually to Jerusalem, bringing antiques and other valuables with them in order to dispose of them at greater advantage to themselves. The mere finding of a stray coin, moreover, is not a sufficient proof that it was struck in the country where it was found. A gentleman now residing at Alexandria, in Egypt, obtained, more than twenty years ago, from a native peasant in Algiers, a coin of Caesarea ad Libanum;[4] and I myself bought from a peasant at the fountain of Kedes, in Galilee, a coin of Mitylene. Until, therefore, a larger number of Apollonian coins are found in Palestine we can hardly include this town among the cities of Palestine which had the privilege of coining.[5]

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[4] This coin is now in my collection.

[5] Coins with the same type on the reverse as the one described by M. de Saulcy were known already—viz. one of Augustus, attributed to Apollonia in Illyria. Mionnet, Supp. III. 321, 64.

Not having seen the coin which M. de Saulcy attributes to Dabrath,[6] I have to accept his reading as the correct one, but I fear his attribution is erroneous. The Septuagint writes the name of this town Δαβιρωθ, Δαβιρ, and Eusebius in his Onomasticon, Δαβειρά. How does this agree with the reading on the coin, ΔΑΒΟΡ? It strikes me that the three last letters, ΒΟΡ, provided the reading is correct, stand for a date; if so the commencement of the legend, as may be seen by referring to Plate XVII., No. 8, is defaced, and the coin belongs to a different city than that to which it is attributed by M. de Saulcy.

He likewise assigns (p. 151) a small coin to a place called Sykamina. I am in possession of a similar coin. Mine, however, has under the letter C an N. I doubt, therefore, whether M. de Saulcy's attribution is correct.

It is likewise erroneous, I believe, to attribute the coins described by M. de Saulcy (p. 155, Nos. 14 and 15) with the head of Apollo on the obverse, and a diota on the reverse, to Ptolemais of Galilee. Type, fabric, and metal are at variance with the coins of Akko. These more probably belong to the town of Ptolemais in Pamphylia (Strabo, xiv., Leake, "Asia Min.," p. 197).

M. de Saulcy has had the kindness to point out in his work several typographical errors found in my memoirs on the coins of Palestine. In explanation I have only to say that whilst these were printed at Vienna, I resided either at Corfu or Ancona, and could therefore not correct the proof-sheets, or superintend the engraving of the plates, which was kindly undertaken by the chief editor of the periodicals. The engravings were made from casts. Some of the letters which could be read on the

[6] The original name of this town is not *Dabora*, as M. de Saulcy has written it, but *Dabrath*.

coins themselves did not appear on the casts, the only guide the engraver had for his work; hence the occasional discrepancy between the legend of the text and that found on the plate. However, since M. de Saulcy points out the errors, he might also have noticed the correction made by the editor (p. 380 of the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," Wien, 1869) as regards a coin of Aelia Capitolina of Julia Domna. He likewise doubts the correctness of the attribution of a coin of Geta of Aelia Capitolina. I can, however, assure him that the legend on the obverse is quite complete, clear, and entirely legible—in fact, for a coin of Aelia Capitolina, *à fleur de coin*—leaving no doubt that the coin belongs to Geta. The engraving of this piece in the "Numismatische Zeitschrift," 1869, is a faithful representation of the original.

M. de Saulcy has also expressed doubts about the reading of a coin of Ascalon struck under Titus, and published in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1864, p. 118. In this he is right, as there is a mistake in the number referred to for the type. Instead of the type of Mars (No. 59 of the paper), it has on the reverse the common type of Astarte (No. 60). On the obverse the letters **TITO** are legible, and cannot, as M. de Saulcy supposes, stand for **CЄBACTOC**. It is well known that during the year 181 of the Ascalonian era on the imperial coins, the Emperor Vespasian was still alive. This coin must have been issued during his father's lifetime, hence the name of **TITO** on this coin in order to distinguish it from those of his father's issued at the same time.

M. de Saulcy doubts likewise the authenticity of a coin of Neapolis, Samariæ, which I attributed to Gallienus, and, although he has not seen the coin, comes at once

to the conclusion that it is a common Roman small brass coin, which has been altered by an engraver (p. 274) I regret that he should be so hasty in his conclusions. This coin has never been touched by an engraver: it was obtained from a peasant in Palestine for a mere trifle. The obverse has no legend, but that on the reverse, in Latin, is as clear and distinct as that on any Palestine coin.

On account of a description of a coin of M. Aurelius and L. Verus of Gadara, published in Messrs. Rollin and Feuardent's catalogue (1864, p. 479, No. 7,248 *bis*), which is at variance with my reading of a coin in my possession, M. de Saulcy declares my readings, without having seen the coin, as *probablement incorrectes* (p. 299), whereas, after comparing my coin with my description, the reading as published in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1864, is, I find, perfectly correct.

I am sorry that the coin of Julia Domna of Capitolias has mysteriously disappeared from my collection. It has probably been lost whilst moving from country to country. I am therefore unable to correct any supposed mistake in my description of it.

In conclusion, I wish to observe that M. de Saulcy is mistaken in supposing (p. 81) that I had ceded to the British Museum a coin of Domitian, issued probably at Jerusalem, and described by me in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1864. This coin is still in my cabinet, and has never been offered to the British Museum, nor to any one else, since it has been in my possession.

HENRY C. REICHARDT.

AR

XVIII.

SHEKEL OF THE YEAR FIVE.

AMONGST a considerable number of shekels belonging to the Jerusalem find of the winter of 1873-74 which had come into the possession of Mr. H. Hoffmann, of Paris, one was identified by him a year ago as bearing the date ∃ W, *i.e.* year 5. No other piece bearing this date is as yet known to exist; but as its authenticity appears to be unquestionable, we have in this unique shekel the proof of an emission hitherto unsuspected by numismatists. The coin, of which an engraving is given above, weighs 219 grains, and has passed into my cabinet.

It may be added that, until this recent find (1873-74), the date ⊣ W (year 4) was only known by a single specimen in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt (NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, N.S., vol. ii. p. 269). Half-shekels of the third year, which were previously so rare that they were unknown to M. de Saulcy when he published his "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique" in 1854, were also present in this hoard. Of these Mr. Reichardt already possessed a specimen in 1862. The half-shekels of the fourth and fifth years have still to be discovered.

S. S. LEWIS.

XVIII.

ON A HOARD OF SAXON PENNIES FOUND IN THE CITY OF LONDON IN 1872.

In the course of excavations carried on in the City in 1872, a very large number of Saxon pennies were discovered. About 2,800 came into my possession through the medium of the late Mr. Baily of Gracechurch Street, from whom, however, I could obtain no information as to the particulars of the find, the greatest secrecy being observed. In the absence, therefore, of further information as to the exact locality, I have, in the following account, referred to the find as the "City Hoard" when speaking of it with other collections.

The thick coating of verdigris with which the majority were encrusted rendered the task of cleaning and describing the coins somewhat tedious; but this difficulty having been overcome by brushing them after immersion in strong ammonia, I am able to lay a report of the examination before the society.

The 2,829 coins that have been examined by me belong to the following kings as under:—

Æthelred II.	4
Cnut	19
Edward the Confessor	2,798
Harold II.	1
William I.	5
Magnus I. (of Denmark)	1
Unknown, German, 11th Century	1
	2,829

By this it is seen that the importance of the find is undoubtedly centred in Edward the Confessor, and it is to his coinage that these notes are mainly directed.

Before the discovery of this hoard, which probably exceeded 7,000, the number of Edward the Confessor's coins known was about 3,000, and of these 2,000 were contributed by the Chancton Hoard alone.

One would naturally expect that so large an addition to the collected coins of one monarch would contain specimens of hitherto unique varieties, would supply new types, new mints, and new moneyers, as well as throw fresh light on doubtful points of sequence of types, and on uncertain legends.

The classification of the Chancton coins given by Mr. Head in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, N.S., vol. vii., has been the basis on which the series has been arranged.

In order, however, to assist a comparison with Hildebrand's arrangement, letters have been used, as by him, to designate the types, instead of the Roman numerals employed by Mr. Head. With one exception, the number of each letter agrees with the corresponding number in Mr. Head's list; and I therefore hope that no confusion will be caused by the modification. The exception is that of type L, Pl. II. fig. 12, which becomes the twelfth instead of the eleventh by the insertion of the coin Pl. II. fig. 11 in the series as a distinct type, instead of considering it a variety of type X.

The connection with Hildebrand requires to be more fully explained.

The types A to F in both schemes agree, but here the parallel ends by the reversion in order of G and H. The reasons for this change are stated in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, N.S., vol. vii. p. 72-75. Our type I is also

considered by Hildebrand to be a variety of type A—a conclusion probably arrived at from the small number in the Stockholm cabinet. It has, however, unquestionable claims to a separate existence, as over 700 occur jointly in this and the Chancton Hoards. It is also placed, with good reason, late in the reign.

About 600 coins were illegible, either wholly or in part, from fracture or corrosion. This reduces the number of deciphered coins to 2,230; and, besides this, I refused several pounds' weight of coins that were broken and in bad condition.

I have prepared the following five tables to facilitate reference to points of wide or local interest connected with the types, mints, and moneyers.

Table I.

is compiled on the same principle as that on p. 79 of the Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. vii., with which it is intended to be compared. It shows the total number of moneyers minting at the several towns, and the types by which they are represented.

Table II.

is a complete list of the Confessor's mints at present known, gathered from Hildebrand, Ruding, Domesday Book, the Chancton and City Hoards.

Table III.

is the principal one, and from this the others are compiled. In it the coins are classed under their towns and types, the former being arranged alphabetically.

The advantage of this arrangement is that it shows in

a concise form which moneyers coined at the several towns, under what types, and the relative prominence or obscurity with which they figure in the series.

By it can be also seen which types circulated most freely from the various towns; and so far as the same name at a town can be referred to one man, how long, comparatively, each moneyer flourished during the reign.

Now when we come to consider the insecurity of life and property necessarily attendant on the emergence of a nation from barbarism, and to which the state of England, even under the late Saxon kings, was no exception, and see the large number of moneyers' names which occur at so many towns, it is not to be supposed that the mint-masters enjoyed a very long tenure of office. And I have endeavoured to see if it were possible to arrange the moneyers in any chronological order, generalising from the types which they struck; but the result of my investigation has been that no such distinctive arrangement can be maintained. This seems to me to point to the types being in a great measure of simultaneous issue rather than that they followed in a regular and unbroken succession.

I would here notice that one of the reasons for assigning types A to E their position in the series has hitherto been that on them the king appeared a young and beardless man. This seems scarcely justifiable, for Edward, at his accession to the throne, in 1041, was forty years old, having been born in 1001. I think we must look rather to the influence of Cnut's coinage for the derivation of this beardless bust.

It has not been attempted, in this list, to give all the vagaries of lettering on coins of one moneyer, when such variations in the spelling of his mintage-town are obviously occasioned by want of room in the field, and therefore

reduplications or omissions of letters have not always been noted; but, nevertheless, care has been taken to record, under one name or another, all the varieties of spelling of every town which occur.

Reference to Mr. Head's detailed catalogue of the British Museum and Chancton coins will enable those who are curious in the matter to see the want of unity in orthography of Edward's moneyers.

TABLE IV.

A summary of the preceding, in which the number of coins of each type and mint can be seen at a glance.

TABLE V.

An alphabetical list of the moneyers forms the fifth and last table. It was made principally with the object of testing the Rev. Assheton Pownall's theory,[1] that the ON found on Saxon coins meant *in* and not *of*, and that it was more correct to suppose that moneyers travelled from town to town than to conclude every one was a permanent inhabitant of the town where we know he minted. But have we any evidence of such being the case? If it were so, it might be supposed that we should find moneyers of the same name at towns not far distant from one another; but a careful study of the table will show that, though in a few isolated instances it is so, corresponding negative evidence is much more general. It would, of course, be unjust to infer that if a moneyer minted at a town widely separated from another at which the same name also occurs he could not be the same man, but I think it is certainly safer to regard the moneyers at the two places as distinct persons.

[1] *See* Num. Chron., 1862, p. 237.

Moreover, though the greater number of names are common to several towns, yet there are many which occur only at one site. For instance (besides the special moneyers of Thetford, referred to hereafter), *Arxtel* is only found at York, *Brixie* at London, *Agamund* at Lincoln, and, amongst many other instances, *Anderbode* at Winchester. My friend Mr. Warne lays claim to this name for Wareham, on the strength of a coin reading ΛNDERBODE ON ƿII (which was described in the catalogue of a sale), and from the fact that the Anderbodes held land in Wareham under a Saxon charter. This is hardly sufficient evidence for the establishment of Anderbode as a moneyer of Dorset, though the coincidence is very singular.

Mints and Moneyers.

Reference to Table II. will show that the number of towns which, from the present state of our knowledge, we can include in a list of the Confessor's mints is 69, of which 57 are represented in this collection.

I am aware that the right of some to be so enumerated rests on no very solid foundation, single coins of many towns alone existing, and others requiring the aid of skilled interpreters to reveal their local origin.

The mints found in the City Hoard new to the National Collection are—

Lancaster
Sudbury
Winchelsea ?
Bury
Tamworth

The first three of these appear now for the first time as money-striking towns.

The right of Winchelsea to a place in the catalogue is rather slender, and I more than half suspect the coin reading LOLDEƿINE ON ƿINCELE to be from the Winchester mint; the facts being that Goldewine was a Winchester moneyer, and that he did blunder his legends very considerably. Lancaster is also a little uncertain. Mr. Evans thinks that ON LANCƿ may possibly refer to Lancing, especially as the moneyer's name, EILƿINE, also occurs at Steyning, a few miles distant. But about Sudbury there can be no doubt; only one moneyer occurs here—Folcwine—and though two of his coins might be mistaken for Southwark, yet three read SUÐB most undeniably.

Bury also figures as a mint for the first time, but on the coins the martyr king has not yet succeeded to his saintly title. This defect is remedied on the coinage of the first William.

There are certain coins, hitherto placed under "Uncertain Mints," reading ON ƿIODFORD. They are mentioned by Ruding, and occurred in the Chancton Hoard. Mr. Evans suggested that this should be read Thetford, and his surmise is amply supported by the evidence of the present collection, for all the coins on which it occurs bear the names of Thetford moneyers; and these names—Atsera, Blacera, Godelif, Sumerlid—are, so far as I know, peculiar to Thetford, and do not occur at any other town.

The Types.

TYPE A. (Plate II. Fig. 1.)

Obv. Diademed bust to the left.—Legend, EDƿERD REX Λ.
Rev. Cross patée within inner circle.

HILDEBRAND, Type A.	HEAD, Type 1.
HAWKINS, xvii. 226	RUDING, xxv. 33, 34.

Distribution of Coins.

City Hoard	4
Chancton Find	4
Stockholm Cabinet . . .	98

The Chancton coins of this type are from the mints of London, Chester, and Winchester; the City coins from those of Ipswich, Wilton, Lincoln, and Thetford.

The large number in the Stockholm cabinet seems to be the principal reason for placing this type first on the list, but the resemblance to the coins of Cnut is not so marked as in C and D.

TYPE B. (Plate II. Fig. 2.)

Obv. King's bust to the left, filleted.—Legend, EDƿERD REX.

Rev. Voided cross: its arms issuing from a pellet.

City Hoard	50
Chancton	0
Stockholm	28

HILDEBRAND, Type B.	HEAD, Type 2.
HAWKINS, xvii. 229.	RUDING, xxvi. 36, 37, 38.

Certainly one of the early types, and still placed second on the list. Had I been forming a new sequence of types, I should have placed it after C and D, as there are peculiarities of costume to be found on this type which closely correspond with those of type E.

TYPE C. (Plate II. Fig. 3.)

Obv. King's bust to the left, filleted; sceptre terminating in four pellets, arranged in a pyramid. Legend. EDƿERD REX.

Rev. In the centre a pellet, enclosed by four crescents placed outwardly, and forming a square at their points of contact; at each point a pyramid of pellets; from the centre of each crescent proceed the arms of a voided cross. The whole within the inner circle.

City Hoard	47
Chancton	1
Stockholm	68

HILDEBRAND, Type C. HEAD, Type 3.
HAWKINS, xvii. 220. RUDING, xxv. 21, 22, 23, 24.

The similarity to the coin of Harthacnut (Ruding, xxiv. 2) establishes this as a very early type in the reign; and one variety of Edward, in the cabinet of Mr. Evans, has the exact reverse of the earlier king, viz. a single pellet, instead of three, at the angles.

TYPE D. (Plate II. Fig. 4.)

Obv. King's bust to the left, filleted; sceptre in front. Legend, EDƿARD REX.

Rev. Voided cross issuing from an annulet enclosing a pellet, each limb terminated by an outwardly placed crescent P—Π—L—X in the angles.

City Hoard	27
Chancton	0
Stockholm	23

HILDEBRAND, Type D. HEAD, Type 4.
HAWKINS, xvii. 221. RUDING, xxiv. 12.

This type is also evidently derived from one of Cnut's, that figured in Ruding, xxiii. 25, being the copy.

In one instance the legend Pacx is spelt P-Π-L-S, in another P-Π-X-X.

There is a feature noticeable on the reverse of this type which is unusual, viz. the prolongation of the cross to the outer circle, instead of its being stopped at the inner,

although on a coin of York, with the annulet in the field, and devoid of the crescent terminations, the cross does not extend beyond the usual limits.

TYPE E. (Plate II. Fig. 5.)

Obv. King's bust to the left, filleted; sceptre in front. Legend, EDƿERD (or EDƿARD) REX.

Rev. Cross with expanding limbs issuing from a square centre, enclosing a pellet; small severed plates turned inwardly at the angles.

City Hoard	553
Chancton	133
Stockholm	26

HILDEBRAND, Type E. HEAD, Type 5.
HAWKINS, xvii. 29. RUDING, xxiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

There is no type out of which a greater number of varieties could be formed, if differences in the treatment of costume were taken into account. It seems to have been in wide circulation, and to have received a considerable amount of care at the hands of the engraver.

Besides the varieties of the reverse, figured by Mr. Head (Pl. VI. figs. 13 and 14), another is shown here (Pl. III. fig. 4) with a small cross in each angle.

Between this type and the next comes the rare hybrid of Thetford (Pl. III. fig. 1), a specimen of which also occurred in the Chancton Hoard.

On referring to the list of moneyers (Table V.), we find that Godlef, who coined it, struck also type F, and, under the name Godelif, type E. He also struck the types H, I, and L, but none of the earlier varieties. This seems to confirm the position assigned to types E and F in the series.

TYPE F. (Plate II. Fig. 7.)

Obv. King's bust to the right, bearded, and wearing a pointed helmet; sceptre in his right hand terminating in a cross, fleur-de-lys, or three pellets.

Legend { EDƿARD / EDƿERD / EDƿEARD } REX.

Rev. Voided cross, each limb, terminated by three crescents, issuing from an annulet.

City Hoard	238
Chancton	425
Stockholm	10

HILDEBRAND, Type F. HEAD, Type 6.
HAWKINS, xvii. 227. RUDING, xxv. 18, 20.

Mr. Head places this type before G because of the coin in the Hunter Collection, which has this obverse, and the reverse of the sovereign type. In this hoard we have also the combination of it with type H.

I am not satisfied as to the sequence of this and the next two coins, the hybrids are so complex. It is safe, however, to assign them to the middle of the reign, and to conclude they were in circulation together.

The variety (Pl. II. fig. 6) is not sufficiently marked and common to constitute a separate type. There is only one example of it in the City Hoard, and four in the Chancton; and that here figured differs from those previously published in having the three crescents, with which each limb of the cross is terminated, repeated in the outer circle. It is a coin of Shaftesbury.

TYPE G. (Plate II. Fig. 8.)

Obv. The king seated on a throne, generally bearded, wearing a crown of two arches surmounted by three pearls, his head turned to the left; he holds in his

right hand a sceptre, in his left an orb surmounted by a cross. Legend, EADƿARD or EADWARD } REX ANGLOR.

Rev. Voided cross confined to the inner circle; a martlet in each angle.

City Hoard	94
Chancton	303
Stockholm	2

HILDEBRAND, Type H. HEAD, Type 7.
HAWKINS, xvii. 228. RUDING, xxiv. 13, 14; xxv. 15, 16.

The varieties of this type other than those hybrid coins before mentioned, are confined to the York mint, where the usual annulet appears on the backs of *two* opposite martlets (see Pl. III. fig. 10).

TYPE H. (Plate II. Fig. 9.)

Obv. King's bust to the right, bearded, and wearing a crown of two arches surmounted by three pearls; sceptre. Legend, EADƿARD REX.

Rev. Voided cross, each limb terminated by an incurved segment of a circle finished by two pellets.

City Hoard	645
Chancton	578
Stockholm	3

HILDEBRAND, Type G. HEAD, Type 8.
HAWKINS, xvii. 222. RUDING, xxiv. 9, 10.

I have found no example of this type having the revived reverse of type A, though I believe one has occurred in another portion of the hoard.

Two varieties of the reverse occur that are as yet unnoticed. In one case, that of Wulfntoh of Southampton, the terminations of the limbs of the cross are altogether

absent; in the other they are merely represented by disjointed bars (see Pl. III. figs. 5 and 6).

TYPE I. (Plate II. Fig. 10.)

Obv. Full-faced figure of king's head, crowned. Legend, EADƴARD REX ANGLO.

Rev. Small patée cross within inner circle.

City Hoard	503
Chancton	138
Stockholm	3

HILDEBRAND, Type A, Var. C. HEAD, Type 9.
HAWKINS, xvii. 225. RUDING, xxv. 29, 30, 31.

VARIETIES.

Obv.—The sub-varieties of this type are very numerous. Some exhibit the king invested with a cloak, which is fastened to the right shoulder, and wearing a string of pearls round the neck; on others the pearls alone are to be seen. The crown also varies from a simple fillet with pendent pearls to a regularly arched diadem.

Rev.—The reverse, too, comes in for its share of the mintmaster's peculiarities. The commonest are figured by Mr. Head (Pl. VI. figs. 9, 10, 11, 12). This hoard contains four specimens of the variety (Pl. III. fig. 7) with the four crescents in the field, struck by Godric of London, and several of that with the single crescent, by Brihtric of Ipswich. The inner as well as the outer circle on this type is frequently beaded.

The revival of the reverse of type A is curious; but the obvious connection of the coin with type H through the hybrid, taken with the reading of the obverse legend,

seems quite sufficient to justify its assignment to the latter part of the reign.

TYPE K. (Plate II. Fig. 11.)

Obv. Full-faced bust of king, crowned with an arched diadem, from each side of which hangs a pendant of pearls, sceptre in right hand, orb in left; the cloak with which he is invested is fastened in front by a circular fibula. Legend, EΛDƿΛRD RE.

Rev. Voided cross within inner circle; in each angle a pyramid ending in a pellet.

City Hoard	2
Chancton	1
Stockholm	0

HILDEBRAND, Type I. Var. A. HEAD, Plate VI. Fig. 2. RUDING, xxv., 25.

Of all the types that have any claim for distinctive existence, this is by far the rarest; for though it has the reverse of type L and the wide-spread lettering, connecting it with that type and with Harold's coinage, yet the character of its obverse, and the occurrence of its mintage at three towns—Dover, Sandwich, and Cricklade—is sufficient to establish it as a separate type. The crown, with pendent pearls, is the same as that shown in profile on type L. We have as yet found no coins of type L struck at the three towns aforesaid; and it therefore suggests to me that its issue was simultaneous with the latter, and that the engraver, accustomed to draw type I, altered his type to suit the new coinage, but retained the full-faced bust.

TYPE L. (Plate II. Fig. 12.)

Obv. Profile of the king to the right, bearded and crowned with a similar diadem to type K, sceptre terminated by a pyramid of pearls. Legend, EΛDƿΛRD REX Λ.

Rev. Voided cross within inner circle, in each angle a pyramid terminated by a pellet.

City Hoard	24
Chancton	54
Stockholm	0

HILDEBRAND, Type I. HEAD, Type 10.
HAWKINS. RUDING, xxv. 26, 27.

This is, seemingly, the only type belonging to the last years of the reign to which any importance is attached; for though type K, and Hildebrand's types K and L, are closely allied to it, they are too scarce to suppose they ever had anything but a limited circulation. In the York coins the annulet replaces the pyramid in one angle; and on the coins of Southampton a very small pyramid is terminated by a trefoil instead of a single pellet.

The lettering on this and the preceding coin is very wide-spread, and the diphthong always IE, not Æ.

THE COINS OF THE OTHER KINGS

are not of sufficient importance to require a lengthy notice. Adjoined is a list and the readings of the legends.

ETHELRED II.

is represented (see Pl. I. figs. 1 and 2) by four coins from the mints of Stamford, Lincoln, London, and York. They read as under.

Obv.	*Rev.*
EÐELRED REX ꓘNꓶL	ꓶODPINE M͂O STΛ +
EÐELRED REX ΛNꓶLOR.	SVMERLED M͂O EOFR +
EDELRED REX ΛNꓶLO.	OSFRAM M͂O LINCOL +
EÐELRED REX ꓘNꓶLO.	LIOFƔEN M͂O LUND +

Ruding figures this type (Pl. XXII. figs. 5 and 6), but the name OSFRAM, as above, does not occur in his list of Æthelred's moneyers.

CNUT.

Of the 19 coins of this monarch, 18 are of the type Pl. I. fig. 4, and one of Pl. I. fig. 3. They read as under.

Plate I. Fig. 3. Ruding, xxiii. 22, 23.

Obv. CNV(T)REEX *Rev.* E( )A ON DOFERA.

Plate I. Fig. 4. Ruding, xxii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Obv.	*Rev.*
CNVT: CNV	CEEL ON CIEE
CNVT: TREX	LEOFRIE ON HEORT
CNVT RE: CX	SPEARTINE ON LINC
CNVT R( )CX	SPEARTINC ON LII
( )T CE( )	LIFINE ON LI( )E
CNVT REEX	BRIHTMER ON LVN
CNVT REEX	EDƿINE ON LVND
CNV TREEX	EDƿERD ON LVND
CNVT REE	EDRED ON LVND
CNVT REEX A	LEOFƿOLD ON LV
CNV REEX	SIRIE ON NORÐƿ
CNV REEX	EODƿINE ON ROFE
CNVT REEX	ƿINEMAN ON ÐE
C(NV)T R(EE)X	EDESTAN ON ƿINE
CNV REEX	LEODMER ON ƿINC
CNV REEX	ƿULNOÐ ON EOFE
CNV TREEX	SPEARTEBRAND L
Illegible.	PVL( )IE ON

HAROLD II.

Plate I. Fig. 5. Ruding, xxvi. 2.

The only coin of Harold is from the Bristol mint. The legend is given below.

Obv. (HA)R(O)LD REX ANGLO.

Rev. EORL ON BRVEE. PAX across the field.

WILLIAM I.

Plate I. Fig. 6. Ruding, Plate I. Fig. 2.

Obv.	*Rev.*
ƿILLEMV REX	IEGELBRIHT ON GIPEI
ƿILLEMV REX	GODƿINE ON ÐEOT

Plate I. Fig. 7. Ruding, Plate I. Fig. 5.

Obv.	ƿILLEM. REX ΛNGL	*Rev.*	IELƿINE ON LVND
	ƿILLEM. REX ΛNGLOLII		GODƿINE ON LVND
	ƿI( ) REX ΛNGL		( ) ON LINE

MAGNUS I.

1042—47. Plate I. Fig. 8.

I am indebted to Mr. Evans for the following information relative to this coin, which is "a rare variety of the coinage of Cnut's successor on the throne of Denmark, and is figured in the 'Beskrivelse over Danske Medailler og Mynter i den Kongelige Samling,' 1794; Tillæg til Anden Classe Tab. I. It is not, however, in the King's Collection, but the woodcut is taken from that in the possession of Councillor von Bulow.

"On the obverse the letters CC are shown to the right of the seated figure, as well as the letter I, which is not visible on the Danish specimen.

"The legend on the reverse of this coin seems to be +DINTITOIIIE; on the foreign example, +OMUNTH IDNION.

"Most of the coins of Magnus were minted at Lund in Scania. Many have the seated Saviour [derived from a Byzantine source] on the obverse, but the cross on the reverse is usually more ornamented than in the present example."

Plate I. Fig. 9.

Obv. Effigy holding orb in right hand. II. as a legend.

Rev. Rude representation of a ship.

I can make nothing whatever of this coin, and know none similar by which it can be explained, and shall be thankful to any member of the Society who can give me information as to its country and king.

ERNEST H. WILLETT.

TABLE I.

NAME.	No.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BATH	1		1		1	2	1	2	1	4				6
BEDFORD	2		1			3	1	2	4	3				6
BEDWIN	3						1		1	1				1
BRISTOL	4					5	5	1		2				6
BURY S. EDMUND	5					1	1		1	1				1
CANTERBURY	6		1	3	1	12	6	4	11	10		1		20
CHICHESTER	7			1		1		1	4					4
COLCHESTER	8					3	9		7	6				9
CAMBRIDGE	9					2	4		3	6				8
CRICKLADE	10					1	2	1		1				3
DERBY	11					2			4	3				3
DOVER	12					1			1	5				5
DORCHESTER	13					1	1							2
EXETER	14			3		4	2	1	4	4				9
GUILDFORD	15		1					1	1					3
GLOUCESTER	16		1			2	2	2	6	3				10
HASTINGS	17		1			1	1	1	3	2				4
HEREFORD	18					1			1	1				3
HERTFORD	19		1			1			2	2				4
HUNTINGDON	20		1	1		2	3		3	3				4
IPSWICH	21	1		1	1	4	8	1	7	9				9
ILCHESTER	22					1	1							2
LONDON	23		10	17	6	20	12	5	22	20	1	3		47
LEICESTER	24		1	1	7	2	2	2	3					11
CHESTER	25					2			6	3				7
LINCOLN	26	1	2	1	1	17	9	4	14	12		3		20
LANCASTER	27					1								1

LEWES	28					2		1	2	2				4
MALMSBURY	29						1			1				2
MALDON	30				1		2	1	2	2				5
NOTTINGHAM	31		1			2	1	1	2	3				6
NORWICH	32		2		2	9	6	1	13	6		1		14
OXFORD	33				2	7	3	11	6					10
RICHBOROUGH ?	34									1				1
ROMNEY	35							1						1
ROCHESTER	36			1				3						4
SALISBURY	37				1				3				VI	2
SANDWICH	38		1								1			2
SHAFTESBURY	39					1	1		5	1			1	9
SHREWSBURY	40			1	1	4	1	1	1	2				9
STAMFORD	41		2	1	2	9	3	1	6	7		2		13
STEYNING	42						1	1	1			1		2
SOUTHWARK	43						2			4				5
SUDBURY	44						2		3	1				2
SOUTHAMPTON	45				1	2	2	2	5	6		2		8
TAMWORTH	46					1			1	2				3
TAUNTON	47				1									1
THETFORD	48	1	2		1	16	7	1	19	24		2		
WALLINGFORD	49					5	4	2	9	2				8
WAREHAM	50							1	4	1				5
WARWICK	51					3			1					3
WORCESTER	52					2	1	1	3	2				8
WATCHET	53			1		1			1					2
WILTON	54	1		1	1	2	3	4	7	6				11
WINCHELSEA ?	55								1					1
WINCHESTER	56		2	3	1	13	8	9	12	10		2		24
YORK	57		3	2	1	11	8	3	8	5		2		17

TABLE II.

Confessor's Mints.

	NAME.	A	C	H	R	D
1	AYLESBURY		1	1	1	
2	BATH	1	1	1	1	
3	BARDNEY			1		
4	BEDFORD	1	1		1	
5	BEDWIN	1	1		1	
6	BRIDPORT				1	1
7	BRISTOL	1	1	1	1	
8	BURY S. EDMUND	1			1	
9	CAMBRIDGE	1	1	1	1	
10	CANTERBURY	1	1	1	1	
11	CHESTER	1	1	1	1	
12	CHICHESTER	1	1		1	
13	CRICKLADE	1	1		1	
14	COLCHESTER	1	1		1	1
15	DERBY	1	1	1	1	
16	DORCHESTER	1	1	1	1	1
17	DOVER	1	1	1	1	
18	EXETER	1	1	1		
19	GLOUCESTER	1	1	1		
20	GUILDFORD	1	1			
21	HASTINGS	1	1	1	1	
22	HEREFORD	1	1	1	1	1
23	HERTFORD	1	1		1	
24	HORNINGDON				1	
25	HUNTINGDON	1	1		1	1
26	HYTHE		1	1		
27	ILCHESTER	1	1	1		
28	IPSWICH	1	1	1		1
29	JERBY (?)				1	
30	LANCASTER	1				
31	LEWES	1	1	1	1	1
32	LEICESTER	1	1	1	1	1
33	LINCOLN	1	1	1	1	1
34	LONDON	1	1	1		
35	LYME			1	1	
36	LUDLOW				1	
37	LYDFORD				1	
	Carried forward	28	28	22	28	9

TABLE II.—(*Continued.*)

	NAME.	A	C	H	R	D
	Brought forward	28	28	22	28	9
38	MALDON	1	1		1	
39	MALMSBURY	1	1			
40	NORWICH	1	1	1	1	1
41	NOTTINGHAM	1			1	1
42	NEWPORT		1			
43	OXFORD	1	1	1	1	
44	READING			1		
45	ROMNEY	1	1		1	
46	ROCHESTER	1	1		1	
47	RICHBOROUGH?	1				
48	SALISBURY	1	1	1	1	
49	SANDWICH	1	1			
50	SHAFTESBURY	1	1		1	1
51	SHREWSBURY	1	1	1	1	1
52	SOUTHAMPTON	1	1	1	1	
53	SOUTHWARK	1	1		1	
54	SUDBURY	1				
55	STAMFORD	1	1	1	1	
56	STEYNING	1	1			
57	TAUNTON	1	1		1	
58	TAMWORTH	1			1	
59	TEIGNMOUTH				1	
60	THETFORD	1	1	1	1	
61	WARWICK	1	1	1	1	
62	WAREHAM	1	1		1	1
63	WALLINGFORD	1	1		1	1
64	WATCHET	1	1			
65	WINCHESTER	1	1	1	1	
66	WINCHELSEA (?)	1				
67	WILTON	1	1	1	1	
68	WORCESTER	1	1	1	1	1
69	YORK	1	1	1	1	
		57	53	35	51	16

A.—City Hoard. R.—Ruding.
C.—Chancton Hoard. H.—Hildebrand.
D.—Domesday.

TABLE III.

BATH.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ÆIELMER	ON BAÐA					5				2				7
EORLFƿINE	ON BAÐ									1				1
ƿODRIƿ	ON BAÐAN					1		1						2
OSMER	ON BAÐ						1	1	1	2				5
REDEL	ON BAÐA		1		1									2
	BAÐAN							1						1
			1		1	6	1	3	1	5				18

BEDFORD.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ELM	ON BEDF					1								1
ELM	ON BEDEFO					1								1
ƿODƿINE	ON BEDEFO								9					9
LEOFDEGN	ON BED								1					1
SPOT	ON BEDEFOR					4		1						5
SPOT	ON BEDEFORI		1					3					F.H	4
ŒILOD	ON BEDEFOR								5	5			2	12
ƿVLFƿI	ON BEDE					2	1		7					10
ƿVLFƿINE	ON BEDE									1				1
	ON BEDE									1				1
			1			8	1	4	22	7			2	45

BEDWIN.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ƿILD	ON BEDEƿINDE								2					2
ƿILDA	ON BEDEƿI									1				1
	ON BEDEDE						1							1
							1		2	1				4

		BRISTOL.											
ÆLFƿINE	ON BRVLS								1				1
ÆLFƿINE	ON BRIC						1						1
ELFRIC	ON BRICSƿ				1	2							3
ELFƿARD	ON BRICSI				1								1
EÐVTAN	ON BRIC					1							1
EÐESTAN	ON BRICSTO				1								1
ÐESTAN	ON BRICSTO				1								1
EXTAN	ON BRIC				3	1							4
LODƿINE	ON BRVLS					1			5				6
GODƿINE	ON BRIC					1							1
HPA( )LMAN	ONBR		1										1
			1		7	6	1		6				21
		BURY S. EDMUND.											
MARLERE	ON EAD								1				1
MORLERE	ON EADMVN				3	3							6
MORLRE	ON EADMVN							7					7
					3	3		7	1				14
		CAMBRIDGE.											
EADƿERD	ONLRAN							2					2
EADRD	ON GRANI								8				8
ELFƿINE	ON LRANTEE				1	2		1					4
ELFƿII	ON LRANTE					3							3
ELFƿII	ON LRANTƿE					1							1
ELƿII	ON LRANI					1							1
GODƿINE	ON GRA								4				4
LOTæINI	ON GRANTE				1								1
æIELOLF	ON LRANN							4	1				5
IELOL	ON GRANTY								3				3
ƿIBEARN	ONGRA								1				1
ƿVLFƿI	ONGRAN								1				1
ƿVLFƿIN	ON LRANT							1	9				10
LOD NB	ON LRA								1				1

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

CANTERBURY.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ÆLFƿARD	ON ⊏ANT									1				1
ÆLFƿED	ON ⊏ NT			1										1
ELRED	ON ⊏ENTƿA						2	1	1					4
ÆLFRED	ON ⊏ENTƿ					3								3
EADƿARD	ON ⊏ANTV								6	1		1		8
EADƿARD	ON ⊏ENT								6					6
EADƿERD	ON ⊏ETƿERE					4								4
EADƿERD	ON ⊏ENT					2			2					4
EADƿEARD	ON⊏NE							1						1
EADƿEARD	ON⊏ANT								1					1
ϬILDEƿINE	ON ⊏A									6				6
ϬILDEƿINE	ON ⊏EN					2								2
ϬYLDEƿINE	ON ⊏ENT					2	1							3
ϬYLDЄƿIHE	ON ⊏A				1									1
MAN	ON ⊏ANTVR									2				2
HANNA	ON ⊏ANTƿA					2								2
HANF	ON ⊏ENTNE								1					1
LIOFƿINE	ON EENT								1					1
LEOFƿINE	ON ⊏AN							1		2				3
LEOFƿINE	ON ⊏ENT		1			2								3
LIOFSTAN	ON ⊏ENT			1		1		1						3
LEOFSTAN	ON ⊏ENT					3	1		1					5
LEOFSTAN	ON ⊏AN									2				2
ꝏIRED	ON ⊏ANTV									2				2
ƿVLFƿINE	ON ⊏ANTE								6					6
ƿVLFRED	ON ⊏ETƿERE					1								1
ƿVLSIE	ON ⊏ENT						1							1
ƿVLSTAN	ON ⊏ENTƿA					1	1							2
V⊏LSTAN	ON ⊏ANTV									1				1
	⊏ENT					1								1
			1	2	1	24	6	4	25	17		1		81

		CHICHESTER.												
ÆLFƿINE	ON ⊏I⊏EST								4					4
ELFƿINE	ON ⊏I⊏ES								2					2
ELƿINE	ON ⊏I⊏ESTR					5								5
LEOFƿINE	ON ⊏I⊏			1										1
⊏ODƿINE	ON ⊏I⊏E							1						1
ƿVLFRI⊏	ON ⊏I⊏EIT								3					3
ƿVLRI⊏	ON ⊏I⊏EST								2					2
				1		5		1	11					18
		COLCHESTER.												
BRIHTRI⊏	ON ⊏OLE						2			3				5
BRITRI⊏	ON ⊏OLE⊏⊏								1					1
BRVNHESE	ON ⊏OLE⊏E						1							1
BRVNHVSE	ON⊏OLE⊏E					1			2	2				5
BRVNNFSE	ON ⊏OLE⊏						1							1
DIORMAN	ON ⊏OLE⊏⊏								1					1
DEORMAN	ON ⊏OLE⊏E						5							5
⊏ODƿINE	ON ⊏OLE⊏E								3					3
⊏OLDMAN	ON ⊏OLE⊏E						1		4	5				10
6OLDMAN	ON ⊏OLE⊏E									2				2
LEOFƿERD	ON ⊏OLE⊏E					4	1							5
STANMÆR	ON ⊏OLEE					4	1							5
ƿVLFƿINE	ON ⊏OLE⊏E						1		2	1				4
ƿVLƿINE	ON⊏OLE⊏E								1	2				3
						9	13		14	15				51

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

CRICKLADE.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ÆGELƿI	ON ⊏RE⊏⊏ELAD							4						4
EGLƿINE	ON ⊏RI⊏⊏								1					1
ÆILƿINE	ON ⊏RE⊏⊏LA					1	1							2
LEOFRED	ON ⊏RO⊏						1							1
						1	2	4		1				8

CHESTER. (See page 353.)

DERBY.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
FROME	ON DEORBE					2								2
FROMA	ON DORA								1	1				2
FROMA	ON DORBI								2					2
⊏OLBIN	ON DREB									1				1
LEFƿINE	ON DERBI								1					1
LEOFƿINE	ON DEORI					1			3					4
LIOFƿINE	ON DIRBI									1				1
SƿATI⊏	ON DERBI			1										1
				1		3			7	3				14

DOVER.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
⊏EOLEƿI	ON DOFE									1				1
⊏IOLƿR	ON DOFEREN								1	1				2
⊏INSTAN	ON DOF					1								1
⊏IRꝺAN	ON DOFER									1				1
⊏EO⊏Eƿ	ON DOFE									1				1
MANƿINE	ON DOFR									1	1			2
						1			1	5	1			8

DORCHESTER.														
BRAƆEMAN	ONDOR						2							2
HƿĀTEMAN	ON DORƆ					1								1
						1	2							3
EXETER.														
EDSIE	ON EXƆESTR					3								3
ELƿINE	ON EXESTR					1								1
ELFRIƆ	ON EXEƆESTE								3					3
HVNEƿINE	ON EXƆ					1								1
LIFINƆ	ON EXEƆESTR			1			2							3
LIFINƆ	ON EXSIEX					1							DE	1
LIFINƆ	ON EXEƆEST			3						3				6
LIFING	ON EXƆE			1						4				5
()EOFƿINE	ON EXEƆ								2					2
ꝏÆƿINE	ON EXEƆES							2		2				4
ƿIƆINƆ	ON EXEƆEST								4					4
ƿVLMÆR	ON EXEƆEST						1		4	1				6
				5		6	3	2	13	10				39
GUILDFORD.														
OFƆIƆƆƆ	ON ƆIƆƆ									1				1
BLAƆEMAN	ON GIL							1						1
ELFRIƆ	ON GILDEF								2					2
ELFƿINE	ON GV		1											1
			1					1	2	1				5

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

GLOUCESTER.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BRIHTNOÐ	ON GLEP								2	1				3
BRIHTNONÐ	ONG LEP								3					3
EAPVLF	ON GLEPECES					3								3
ÆLFSIE	ON LLEPECE					1								1
GVOLLPINE	ON LLEPL								2					2
LEOFENOÐ	ON LLE						2							2
LEOFNOÐ	ON LLE		1						1					2
LIOFNOÐ	ONG LEPEE								1					1
LEOFPINE	ON GLEPEL							3		1				4
SEOLLPINE	ON GLEP									1				1
SELGPINE	ON GLEPEL							1						1
∞ILAL	ON LLEPELET								1					1
PVLFLET	ON LLEPE						2							2
PVLFPARD	ONG LEPECE								3					3
			1			4	4	4	13	3				29

HASTINGS.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BRID	ON HÆSTINL					1								1
BRID	ON HESÐIN							1						1
BRID	ON HESTIEN						1							1
DVNINL	ON HEST								1					1
DVNINE	ON ÆSTIN								1					1
DVRINL	ON E		1											1
DVNNING	ON HÆST									1				1
PVLFRIL	ON HÆ∞TI								1					1
			1			1	1	1	3	1				8

		HEREFORD.											
EADƿI	ON HEREFdE							2					2
LRNƿIL	ON HEREF								1				1
LEOFENOÐ	ON HERE				2								2
					2			2	1				5
		HERTFORD.										G H	
GODƿINE	ON HIRTFOR								1			1	2
REDVLF	ON HERF		1										1
ƣÆMER	ON HERFOR											1	1
ƣÆMER	ON HERTFO							2					2
ƣÆMER	ON HEORTF							1					1
ƿILGRIƿ	ON HEORT				3								3
ƿILLIRƿ	ON HIRTF				1								1
ƿILLRIƿ	ON HYRTE								1				1
			1		4			3	2			2	12
		HUNTINGDON:											
GODƿINE	ON HVNTE					2		9	1				12
GODƿINE	ON HVNTE								2				2
LODRIL	ON HVNTEN				3	1			3				7
GODRIL	ON HVNTEN					2		11					13
ELFƿINE	ON HVNTE			1	1								2
E———NL	ON HV		2										2
LIOFƿINE	ON HVNT							1					1
			2	1		4	5		21	6				39

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

IPSWICH

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BRVM	ON GIPPES									12				12
BRVMAN	ON GIPES								2					2
BRVNINE	ON GIPPE						4			10				14
BRVNINE	ON GIPPE									4				4
BRVNINE	ON GIPESƿI					3	4		2					9
BRVNIE	ON GIPESƿI								1					1
BRINTRIE	ON GIP									1				1
BRIHTRIE	ON GIPP									14				14
BRIHTRIE	ON GIPI						1			1				2
BRIHTRINE	ON GIPESƿ								2					2
BRIHRIE	ON GIPE									1				1
LEOFƿOLD	ON GIPPES								1	4				5
LEOFƿOLD	ON GIPE						5	1						6
LIOFƿOLD	ON G EƿIE								1					1
LIOFƿOLD	ON GIPESƿ								9					9
LEOFSTAN	ON GIPE	1												1
LIFINE	ON GIPESƿI			1	1									2
LIFIE	ON GIPESƿIIE					1								1
ELFƿINE	ON GIPE									4				4
GODƿINE	ON GIPI						1							1
ƿVLSIE	ON GIPESƿ					4								4
ƿVLFSIE	ON GIPESI					1	1							2
———	— GIPES						1							1
		1		1	1	9	17	1	18	51				99
	ILCHESTER.													
EILƿIN	ON GIFELE						1							1
OSƿARD	ON GIFELE					3								3
						3	1							4

LEICESTER.													
ALIIGIE	ON LEICESTR				1								1
ALLSIE	ON LEICESTR				1								1
BRIHTRE	ON LEC								1				1
BR(——)L	ON LELEC							1					1
(BRV)NINC	ON LEIC				1								1
COLBRANND	ON LEIC				1								1
DVNNIN	ON LEOECES						1						1
ELFSI	ON LELECES							1					1
ELFSIE	ON LEICES		2	1	2	1							6
ELFSIEADA	ON LEC							1					1
FARGRIM	ON LEICE				1								1
LEOFPINE	ON LEICE				2								2
LEOFNAÐ	ON LELECC								1				1
LEOFENOÐ	ON LEIC				2								2
HVSL( )RL	ON LEG					1			1				2
∞PEARTCOL	ON EGELST						1						1
			2	1	11	2	2	3	3				24
CHESTER.													
ÆLRIC	ON LEHRECE							2					2
ELLIC	ON LEHRE							6					6
ELPINE	ON LEH							1					1
ELPI	ON LEHRECE							1					1
EDPINE	ON LE: (BIFDII)				1								1
LODRIC	ON LEHRECE							1	2				3
LIOFRIC	ON LEHREC							1					1
PILLRIP	ONLIHR								1				1
PVLNOÐ	ON LEHERE				1								1
					2			12	3				17

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

LINCOLN.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
AGAMVND	ON LINE											1		1
AHMVND	ON LIN									2				2
ASEERÐ	ON LINEO							1						1
BRIHTRIE	ON LINEOL					7								7
EOLGRIM	ON LINEOLE					16								16
EDRIE	ON LINEO									1				1
ELFNOÐ	ON LINE						1		2					3
GARFIN	ON LINEOL									2				2
LIFE	ON LINEOL								4					4
LIVE	ON LINEOL								1					1
LODRIE	ON LINE			1	1	25	2	1	6	1				37
GODRICE	ON LINEO						1							1
LEFPINE	ON LINEO									5				5
MANA	ON LINEOLNE					3								3
MANNA	ON LINEOL					5	2							7
ANA	ON LINEOLN					1								1
ANNA	ON LIN									1				1
AVTI	ON LINEOLN						1		1	1				3
OVTI	ON LINEO											1		1
OSLAE	ON LINEOLNE					4			4					8
ASLAE	ON LINEOLNE								3					3
OSFVRÐ	ON LINEOLIE					6	1							7
OSFERÐ	ON LINEOLIE					5	2							7
OÐERIM	ON LINEOL		1			12	2		1	4		1		21
ODERIM	ON LINEOL					7		1	1	2				11
ODORIN	ON LINEOL					1								1
OÐERIN	ON LINEOL					1								1
OÐBEORN	ON LINE						2							2

ÞVLF	ON LINEOL	1											1
VLF	ON LINEOLNE		1			7		1	2	3			14
PVLFRIE	ON LINEO								3				3
ÞVLBREN	ON LINE								3	1			4
ÞVLBEORN	ON LINEOL					1			2				3
ÞVLBORN	ON LIN								2				2
ÞVLBERN	ON LINEOL					1							1
	ON LIN		1			1				2			4
		1	3	1	1	103	14	4	35	25		3		190
	LANCASTER.												
EILÞINE	ON LANEÞ					1							1
	LONDON.												
ALDƕAR	ON LVNDE						1			11			12
ALFRED	ON LVNDE			4									4
BAÐEÞINE	ON LV			1									1
BRIHTRED	ON LVN			1									1
BRIHTMÆR	ON LVND						1	1		1			3
BRIHTÞINE	ON LVND					1							1
BRIESIE	ON LVNDE												
BRIXSIE	ON LVND					24							24
BRIESIEE	ON LVND												
BRIEXSIE	ON LVNDENE												
BRVNÞINE	ON LVN			1									1
BRVNLAR	ON LVND				1		2						3
EOSVNV	ON LVND			1									1
EODSVINV	ON LVND			1									1
DVRINE	ON LVNDE								5				5
DVDNIE	ON LVNDEN					3							3
DVRIE	ON LVNDE									1			1
	Carried forward			9	1	28	4	1	5	13				61

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

LONDON.—(*Continued.*)

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	I*	TOTAL.
	Brought forward			9	1	28	4	1	5	13				61
DVLFDADD	ON LVND									2				2
DVRFERÐ	ON LVNDEN								1					1
EADMVND	ON LVND				3	1								4
EADƿINE	ON LVNDE								11					11
EDƿINE	ON LVNDE		1			1			9	2				13
EDƿARD	ON LVND								1					1
EDRED	ON LVNDE					15	2			1				18
EGELƿI	ON LVNDE									5				5
ÆGELƿI	ON LVNDEN			2						5				7
ÆGLƿI	ON LVNDEN									1				1
ÆLFƿARD ÆLFƿERD ÆLFƿEARD	ON { LVNDE LVNDEN LVND					1		1	14	45				61
ELƿARD	ON LVND				1									1
ELƿERD	ON LVND								1			1		2
ELRLD	ON LVNDE					1								1
ELDRED	ON LVNDENE					1								1
ELFRED	ON LVND		1						2					3
ÆLFƿALD	ON LV		3											3
ÆLFGAR	ON LVND					10								10
ÆLFƿINE	ON LVNDENE			2		15				16				33
ELFƿINE	ON LVNDE				1			3						4
ÆLFSIDE	ON LVND							2	8	1		1		12
ÆLFSI	ON LVNDE									2				2
ELFSTAN	ON LD		1											1
ELFRIC	ON LVN				1									1
ELLRIC	ON LVND						3							3

* Var.

EƛELRIƛ	ON LVN		1										1
EIƿII	ON LVNDEN					1							1
EƿI	ON LVNDENE					3							3
ꞠODRIƛ	ON LVNDE				1		1		12	14		1	4	33
ꞠODƿINE	ON LVNDEN			1		9	4	1	9					24
ƛODMAN	ON LVND						4							4
OLDSIE	ON LVNDE		4				2							6
ƛOLTSNE	ON LVND			1										1
Ꞡ( )VRINE	ON LVNDE								1					1
LEOFƿINE	ON LVI		1											1
LEOFRED	ON LVN( )ENE			1		21	2							24
LEOFSIE	ON LVND					4	1							5
LEOFƿERD	ON LVND					1								1
LEOFNINƛ	ON LVND								1					1
LIFINƛ	ON LVNDENE		4	1		1			2					8
OMVND	ON LVNDENE								2	4				6
OSMVND	ON LVNDE								1					1
SƿETMAN	ON LVN		1			1	3			6				11
SƿRAƛELINƛ	ON LVND					17								17
ƿVLSIƛ	ON LVND			1										1
ƿVƛLFSI	ON LVND									3				3
ƿVLFꞠAR	ON LVNDE								13	2				15
ƿVLFƛER	ON LVNDEN								1					1
ƿVLꞠAR	ON LVNDEN								4	3		2		9
ƿVLꞠ∀R	ON LVNDE								2					2
ƿVLFƿINE	ON LVND			2										2
ƿVLƿINE	ON LVND			2										2
ƿVLFMER	ON LVNDENE								4					4
ƿVLMER	ON LVNDENE								3					3
ƿVLFƿEARD	ON LVNDE									1				1
ƿVLFRED	ON LVND		2	1										3
ƿVLFƿIƛ	ON LVND							1						1
			19	23	8	131	26	9	107	126		5	4	458

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

LEWES.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ÆGELƿINE	ON LEƿ									1				1
ÆLFSIE	ON LÆƿE					2								2
ÆLFSIE	ONN LÆƿEE					1								1
LIOFƿERD	ON LÆƿE								1					1
OSƿOLD	ON LÆƿE							1	1	1				3
						3		1	2	2				8

MALMSBURY.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
EADƿIL	ON MEALM						1							1
RIHIƿI	ON MALME									1				1
							1			1				2

MALDON.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
EA·L·DƿI	ON M·EALD						1							1
ÐEEI	ON ·M·ÆL·DVN·E						2	1						3
GODRIL	ON MÆLDVN								4					4
LODƿINE	ON MÆLDVN								3	3				6
GODƿINE	ON MIEL									1				1
HVNNA	ONN MEA				1									1
					1		3	1	7	4				16

		NOTTINGHAM.											
ARNLR( )	( )N SN								1				1
BLALEMAN	ON SNOTIN				1								1
BLALEN	ON TINL					1							1
BRND	ON NE( )OTIEN							2					2
FORN	ON æNOTINGEN							2					2
FORNA	ON æNOT								1				1
FORNA	ONN æNOTI						1						1
FORMAN	ON æNO								1				1
HALDENE	ON SNOT				1								1
SNOTER	ON SN		1										1
			1		2	1	1	4	3				12
		NORWICH.											
LENELM	ON NORÐ				8								8
ÐVRFYRÐ	ON NO		3										3
ÐVRFERÐ	ON NOR		1		2	6							9
ÐORFORÐ	ON NORÐÞ				1								1
ÐVRFÐ	ON NORÐÞI				2	1							3
ÐVRFVRÐ	ON NORÐÞI				2								2
ÐORFRÐ	O NORÐÞ				2								2
DVREVERÐ	ON NOR				1								1
DVBITRÐ	ON NORÐÞ				1								1
ÐVRST·AN	ON NORÐÞILE					13		3	1				17
DORSTAN	ON NORÐÞILE							16					16
DVRGRIM	ON NOR										1		1
EDÞINE	ON NORÐ							1	9				10
	Carried forward		4		19	20		20	10		1		74

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

NORWICH.—(*Continued.*)

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
	Brought forward		4			19	20		20	10		1		74
ÆLFƿINE	ON NORÐƿIE								3					3
GODƿINE	O NOR									2				2
GODƿINE	ON NO							1						1
HRINGVLF	ON NOR						11							11
LEƿINE	ON NORÐƿƿI								1					1
LEFƿINE	O NORÐƿI								2					2
LEOFƿINE	ON NORÐ					5	8							13
EOFƿINE	ON NORÐ									6				6
LIOFƿINE	ON NORÐƿI								1					1
LIOƿINE	O NORÐƿI						2		1					3
LIOFRIE	ON NORƿƿI								3					3
LEFRIE	O NORÐƿI								1					1
RINVLF	ON NOR				1									1
PRIEE	ON NORÐ									1				1
ƿVLFæI	ON NORƿƿIE								16					16
ƿVRæTAN	ON NORƿ								10	1				11
	ON NNOR				1									1
			4		2	24	41	1	58	20		1		151

OXFORD.

BRIHTRED	ONN OXENEX								5					5
BRIHTƿOLD	ONN OEXE				1									1
BRIHTƿOLD	ON OXE					1	1			1				3
ÆGLƿI	ON OXENE									3				3

ÆLELƿI	ON OXENE								2					2
ELELƿI	ON OLX				1									1
ÆLFƿI	ON OXENEFO					2			2	1				5
ÆLFƿIG	ON OXNAF									1				1
ELƿI	ON OXENEFO					2								2
ELƿIL	ON OXEN								1					1
ELƿIL	ON OXENEFO					1			1					2
ELƿINE	ON OXENE						1							1
ELƿINE	ON OXENE					2			1					3
ÆEƿI	ON OXENEFOR					2								2
ELƿIL	ON OXEN								1					1
EDƿINE	ON OLXENE						1							1
HARELOD	ON OXENEX								4					4
HARELDD	ON OXƿIEX								1					1
HERFGOD	ON OXEN									1				1
SƿETMAN	ON OXENE					3			1					4
ƿVLFƿI	ON OXENE									1				1
					2	13	3		19	8				45
		ROMNEY.												
ƿVLMER	ON RVMED								1					1
		ROCHESTER.												
E·A·DƿINE	ON R·OI							1						1
LIFƿINE	ON R·OFE							1						1
ƿVLFRIL	ON R·OF			1										1
				1				2						3

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
RICHBOROUGH.														
SƿETRIE	ON RIE							1						1
SALISBURY.														
ƊODRIE	ON æERBVRI								5					5
ϽODRIE	ON SERB·VRI								3					3
ϽODRIE	ON TERBVRI								1					1
ƿINEMAN	ON SER				1									1
					1				9					10
SANDWICH.														
ϽODRIE	ON SANDƿI										1			1
FAREBIƿ	ON SA		1											1
			1								1			2
SHAFTESBURY.														
ELFƿERD	ON SƐETƐ								2					2
ϽODRIE	ON æƐEAFT									1			VI	1
ƿVLFRIE	ON ƐƐEAFT								1					1
ƿVLFRIE	ON æƐEFTE					1	2		2				1	6
ƿVLFRIE	ON æƐEAFTE								2					2
ƿVLFRIE	ON æƐEVETE								2					2
						1	2		9	1			1	14

SHREWSBURY.													
ELFEEN	ON SLREOBE				3								3
ÆLFLET	ON SLOBE							2					2
H RIG	ON SLRO						1						1
EARNPI	ON SROBB								1				1
LEOFSTAN	ON SERO				1	1							2
LEOFPINE	ON SLREO				1								1
PVLM'ER	ON SEREOB			1	1	2							4
				1	1	7	1	1	2	2			15
STAMFORD.													
ARFRA	ON STANFOR					1							1
BRVNPINE	ON STANFO			1			1		2	4			8
ELFPIL	ON STANFORDE					1							1
ERILL	ON STANFOR					1							1
ÆRFREE	ON STANFO					1	2						3
FERGRIM	ON STANFO					3							3
HERÐLYN	ON STANF				1	1							2
LODPINE	ON STANFO				1	2	2		1				6
LEOFRIL	ON STANF					1		1			1		3
LIOFRIL	ON ƣTANNF								1				1
LEFRIL	ON STANNF									1			1
LEOFPINE	ON STAN		1			10				1			12
LIOFPINE	ON STANFO								2				2
LEOFPINE	ON STANF									2			2
OSPARDE	ON STANF									5			5
SPARLOLF	ON STA								1	3		1	5
PILLRIP	ON ƣTA		2							2			2
PILLIRP	ON STANFO								1				1
			3	1	2	21	5	1	8	18		2		61

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

STEYNING.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
DIOMAN	ON æTÆNIL								3					3
DERM°N	ON STIEN											1		1
ƿVLFRIL	ON STÆ						2	2						4
							2	2	3			1		8

SOUTHWARK.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BRIHTRIL	ON SVÐE									1				1
GODRIL	ON SVDI									2				2
OSMVND	ON SVÐL									4				4
LEOFRED	ON SVÐL						1							1
SƿETMAN	ON æVÐG						1			2				3
							2			9				11

SUDBURY.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
EGELƿINE	ON SVÐB									1				1
FOLEDINE	ON ȣVL						1							1
FOLLƿINE	ON SVÐB								1					1
FOLLƿINE	ON æVƿBV								2					2
FOLƿINE	ON SVÐI						1							1
FOLEƿINE	ON SVÐB								1					1
							2		4	1				7

SOUTHAMPTON.														
ÆLFƿINE	ON HAMTV					5	1		1	1				8
ELFƿINE	ON HTÎNE								2					2
ÐEODRED	ON H									1				1
LEOFƿINE	ON HAMTV					2	1		1					4
LEFRIC	ONN HANTV							2						2
LEFRIC	ON HAM				1									1
ƣÆƿINE	ON HAMTI								2	1		1		4
ƣƿETMAN	ON HAM									3		2		5
ƿVLFNOÐ	ON HAM							5	7	1				13
					1	7	2	7	13	7		3		40
TAMWORTH.														
BRVNINC	ON TA								1	1				2
ELELƿINE	ON TAM					1								1
ELFƿARD	ON TA									1				1
						1			1	2				4
TAUNTON.														
BOLA	ON TANT				1									1

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

THETFORD.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	E.F.	TOTAL.
ATSERA	ON ÐETFOR							1	8	9				18
ATSERA	ON ÐTFO								3					3
ATSERE	ON ƿIODFO								7	1				8
BLAƚERE	ON ÐEOTF					1				3				4
BLAƚERE	ON ÐETFO								8	1				9
BLAƚERE	ON ÐT								2	1				3
BLAEERE	ON ƿIODFO								11					11
BLARERE	ON ÐITFOR								2					2
BLAƚRA	ON ÐET								1					1
Λ:LΛR·Λ	ON ÐEOTF									1				1
ELFƿINE	ON ÐETF		1						8	4				13
ELFƿINE	ON ÐEOR						1							1
ÆLFƿINE	ON ÐEOT									6				6
EILƿINE	ON ÐEOT									1				1
ELFRIƚ	ON ÐEOT					1								1
ELFRIƚ	ON ÐEODF					1								1
EILSIE	ON ÐEODF					3	1							4
EILSIE	ON ÐEOT		1			2								3
EƚELSIE	ON ÐEOD					2								2
EDELIF	ON ƿIODFOD								1					1
ESTAND	ON ÐEO					1								1
ESTMVND	ON ÐEOT	1				8	4		1					14
MVND	ON ÐEODF					2								2
ƚODRIƚ	ON ÐETFOR									10				10

ꞮODRIꞮ	ON ÐITFOR								1					1
ꞮODRIꞮ	ON ÐEOD									1				1
ꞮODRIꞮ	ON ÐEOꞮED									1				1
ꞮODƿINE	ON ÐETFORDI											2		2
ꞮODƿINE	ON ÐE				1									1
ꞮODƿINE	ON ƿIODFO					1				1				2
ꞮODƿINE	ON ÐITFO									2				2
ꞮODELEOF	ON ÐEOT						8			1			1	10
ꞮODELEF	ON ÐETFOR					2			9	6				17
ꞮODELIF	ON ƿIODFO								2	2				4
ꞮODELEOF	ON ÐTFOR											1		1
ꞮODLEF	ON ÐETF									1				1
ꞮOLLERD	ON ÐITFOR								1					1
ꞮDELIꞮ	ON ƿIODƿOD									2				2
LEOFƿINE	ON ÐEODF					6								6
LEOFƿINE	ON ÐEOTF					3	5							8
LEOFƿINE	ON ÐEOR					2								2
LIOFƿINE	ON ÐITFOR						2							2
LEOFRIꞮ	ON ÐEODF					6								6
SVMRLD	ON ÐET								2	1				3
SVMERED	ON ÐETFO									3				3
SVMERLIDE	ON ƿIODFO								3					3
SVMERƿ	ON ÐETFOR									3				3
SVMRD	ON ÐE									1				1
ƿVRFVRƿ	ON ƿIODFO								4					4
	ON ÐITFOR					2	1		1					4
	ON ÐETFOR									1				1
		1	2		1	43	22	1	75	63		3	1	212

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

WALLINGFORD.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
BRAD	ON ƿALINGE								7					7
BRAND	ON ƿALINGE					1			5					6
BRAND	ON ƿALLIN							2	5	1				8
BVREƿINE	ON ƿALI									2				2
BRVNƿINE	ON ƿALIN					3	2	1	4					10
BRVNINE	ON ƿALI						1		1					2
BRVNINE	ON ƿALLI								1					1
BRIHTƿINE	ON ƿALI					2	3							5
BRIHTRIE	ON ƿALI					4	1		1					6
BRIHTMER	ON ƿALI								7					7
EILƿII	ON ƿALINGE					2								2
ƿVREOL	ON ƿÆLIINE								1					1
						12	7	3	32	3				57

WAREHAM.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ƿIODEMAN	ONƿERH								1					1
IODEMAN	ON ƿERH								1					1
SIDEMAN	ON ƿARN							2						2
ƿVLFSI	ON ƿERHE								1					1
ƿVRSTAN	O ƿERI								1					1
ƿVLFƿINE	ON ƿEA									1				1
								2	4	1				7

		WARWICK.												
ASTAN	ON ꝼERINI								1					1
LVEINC	ON ꝼÆRINCꝼIC					2								2
LEOFRIC	ON ꝼÆRI					1								1
LEOFRIC	OC O ꝼERI					2								2
						5			1					6
		WORCESTER.												
ARFꝼOL	ON ꝼIH								1					1
ESTASN	ON ꝼIHERE					1								1
EICEL	ON ꝼIHERECE					1								1
ELFꝼINE	ON ꝼIHR									1				1
LARVLF	ON ꝼIHERE						1							1
LIOFSTAN	ON ꝼIHRE								1	1				2
LIOFRIC	ON ꝼIHRECC								1					1
ꝼICINC	ON ꝼAR							1						1
						2	1	1	3	2				9
		WATCHET.												
GODCILD	ON ꝼECET					1								1
LODCILD	ON ꝼECED			1										1
HEÐEꝼVLF	ON ꝼIC								1					1
				1		1			1					3

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

WILTON.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	F.H.	TOTAL.
BRIXI	ON ƿILTVNE								1					1
BRVNGAR	(ON ƿILT)V	1												1
ALFƿOL·D	ON ƿILTVNE						1	1	1					3
ELFƿOL·D	ON ƿILTVNE								3	1				4
ELFƿINE	ON ƿILTVNEE				1	1			1					3
ELFSTAN	ON ƿILTV			1										1
LEOFƿINE	ON ƿILT									1				1
LEOFƿINE	ON ƿILV								1	2				3
LEOFƿINE	ON ƿILTV						1							1
LEƿINE	ON ƿILTV					1								1
ÐVRFVRÐ	ON ƿIL							1						1
DVRLIL	ON ƿILTVNE						4	2						6
HERRD	ON ƿILTVN								1	5				6
HERED	ON ƿILTVN									1				1
SPETRIC	ON ƿILTVNE							1	1					2
ƿINVS	ON ƿILTV									3				3
		1		1	1	2	6	5	9	13				38

WINCHELSEA.

GOLDƿINE	ONE INEELE								1					1

WINCHESTER.

ANDERBODA	ON ƿINC						1	2	1	1				5
ANDERBODE	ON ƿINCE							2	4	5		2		13
ACEL	ON ƿINCE								1					1
BRANND	ON ƿINCESTR					7								7

BRINTPOLD	ON PINCE					3								3
BRIHTMÆR	ON PINC						1	2	1					4
BAROD	ON PIN							1						1
BVREPINE	ON PI									1				1
ELFPIIC	ON PINC			1										1
EIELPINE	( )NCESTR					1								1
ÆLFPINE	ON PINCES					1	1	6	3	2		1		14
EDPII	ON PINCEST					1								1
ESTAN	ON PINCES					1	1							2
ESTAN	ON PINCEI						2							2
GODPINE	ON PINCCE					9		2	3					14
GODPINEPIDE	OI PIN						3							3
GOLDPINE	ON PINC									1				1
GOLDEPINE	ON PINC					1								1
GODRIC	ON PINC			2		1								3
GOC	ON PINCES					1								1
LADMÆR	ONN PINC				1									1
GODMANN	ON PINCE						2							2
LEOFPOLD	ON PINCE								3	4				7
LIOFPOLD	ON PINCE												2	2
LIODPOLD	ON PINCEæ								3					3
LIFINC	ON PINCESTRE			1		1	3	3	1	4				13
LIFINC	ON PIL		1											1
LEFINE	ON PINC									1				1
LEOFPINE	ON PINE					1								1
LEOFPINE	ON PINN		1							1				2
SPRACELINC	ON PINCE							1	3					4
SPRARELINC	N INCE								1					1
SPRACALNC	N PI									1				1
SPAREPINE	N INCE							2	4					6
PVNSTAN	N PINCEST					5								5
			2	4	1	33	14	21	28	21		3	2	129

TABLE III.—(*Continued.*)

YORK.

NAME.	TOWN.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L		TOTAL.
ARCETEL	ON EOFRƿ								1					1
ARCEL	ON EOFRƿI									1				1
ARNCRIM	ON EOF		1	1		4	1		3					10
ARNGRIM	ON EOFER						1							1
ERNCRIM	ON EOFERƿ					6								6
ARNCTEL	ON EOFER						1			2				3
ARCYTEL	ON EOFER					1								1
ARCXTEL	ON EOFER					1								1
ELFER	ON EOFER		1											1
ELFƿINEE	ON EOFERI					1								1
IOLE	ON EOFERƿICCE						1							1
IOLA	ON EOFERƿIC					2								2
IOLLA	ONNEOFERƿ				1									1
GODƿINE	ON EOFER						1							1
LEOFNOÐ	ON EOFER					2								2
LEOFIN Ð	ON EOFER					1								1
OÐCRIM	ON EOF								3	4				7
OÐCRƿI	ON EOF								1					1
OÐOLF	ON EOFER									1				1
OVÐBORN	ON EOFR											1		1
ÐORR	ON EOFRƿIEC							1	2			1		4
SƿARCOL	ON EOFR						1							1
SNEBORN	ON EOF									2				2
SƿARTCOL	ON EOFERƿI						2		1					3
STIRCOL	ON EOFER					2	1							3
X L	ON EOFER					4								4
SCVLA	ON EOFERƿI			1		1			6					8
VLFCTEL	ON EOFER							1	4					5
CVTEL	ON EOFER		1											1

TABLE IV.

NAME.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	G.H	F.H	E.H	I²	TOTAL.
BATH		1		1	6	1	3	1	5							18
BEDFORD		1			8	1	4	22	7				2			45
BEDWIN						1		2	1							4
BRISTOL		1			7	6	1		6							21
BURY S. EDMUND					3	3		7	1							14
CANTERBVRY		1	2	1	24	6	4	25	17		1					81
CAMBRIDGE					2	7		8	28							45
CHICHESTER			1		5		1	11								18
COLCHESTER					9	13		14	15							51
CHESTER					2			12	3							17
CRICKLADE					1	2	4		1							8
DERBY			1		3			7	3							14
DOVER					1			1	5	1						8
DORCHESTER					1	2										3
EXETER			5		6	3	2	13	10							39
GLOUCESTER		1			4	4	4	13	3							29
GUILDFORD		1					1	2	1							5
HASTINGS		1			1	1	1	3	1							8
HEREFORD					2			2	1							5
HERTFORD		1			4			3	2			2				12
HUNTINGDON		2	1		4	5		21	6							39
IPSWICH	1		1	1	9	17	1	18	51							99
ILCHESTER					3	1										4
LANCASTER					1											1
LEWES					3		1	2	2							8
LEICESTER		2	1		11	2	2	3	3							24
LINCOLN	1	3	1	1	103	14	4	35	25		3					190
LONDON		19	23	8	131	26	9	107	126		5				4	458
MALDON				1		3	1	7	4							16
Carried forward	2	34	36	13	354	118	43	339	327	1	9	2	2		4	1284

TABLE IV.—(*Continued.*)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	G.H	F.H	E.H	I[1]	TOTAL.
Brought forward	2	34	36	13	354	118	43	339	327	1	9	2	2		4	1284
MALMSBURY						1			1							2
NORWICH		4		2	24	41	1	58	20		1					151
NOTTINGHAM		1			2	1	1	4	3							12
OXFORD				2	13	3		19	8							45
RICHBOROUGH							1									1
ROMNEY								1								1
ROCHESTER			1				2									3
SALISBURY				1				9								10
SANDWICH		1								1						2
SHAFTESBURY					1	3*		9	1							14
SHREWSBURY			1	1	7	1	1	2	2							15
STANFORD		3	1	2	21	5	1	8	18		2					61
STEYNING						2	2	3			1					8
SOUTHAMPTON				1	7	2	7	13	7		3					40
SUDBURY						2		4	1							7
THETFORD	1	2		1	43	22	1	75	63		3			1		212
TAMWORTH					1			1	2							4
TAUNTON				1												1
WARWICK					5			1								6
WAREHAM							2	4	1							7
WATCHET			1		1			1								3
WALLINGFORD					12	7	3	32	3							57
WINCHELSEA								1								1
WINCHESTER		2	4	1	33	14	21	28	21		3		2			129
WILTON	1		1	1	2	6	5	9	13							38
WORCESTER					2	1	1	3	2							9
YORK		3	2	1	25	9	2	21	10		2					75
ILLEGIBLE																600
	4	50	47	27	553	238	94	645	503	2	24	2	4	1	4	2798

* One of these is the variety. See Plate II. Fig. 7.

TABLE V.

Alphabetical List of Moneyers.

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
1	AƎEL	WINCHESTER								1						
2	AGAMVND	LINCOLN											1			
	AHMVND	,,									1					
3	ALDGAR	LONDON						1			1					
4	ALFRED	,,			1											
5	ALFƿOLD	WILTON						1	1	1						
6	ALGSIE	LEICESTER					1									
	ALHGIE	,,					1									
7	ANDERBODA	WINCHESTER						1	1	1	1					
	ANDERBODE	,,							1	1	1		1			
8	ARƎXTEL	YORK					1									
	ARƎYTEL	,,					1									
	ARƎETEL	,,								1						
	ARƎEL	,,									1					
	ARNƎTEL	,,						1			1					
9	ARFRA	STANFORD					1									
10	ARFƿOL	WORCESTER								1						
11	ARNGRIM	YORK		1	1		1	1		1						
	ARNG(RIM)	NOTTINGHAM									1					
12	ASEERÐ	LINCOLN							1							
13	ASLAƎ	,,								1						
14	ASTAN	WARWICK								1						
15	ATSERA	THETFORD							1	1	1					
	ATSERE	,,								1	1					
16	AVTI	LINCOLN						1		1	1					
17	ALƿIG	GUILDFORD									1					

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
18	BAROD	WINCHESTER							1							
19	BAÐEƿINE	LONDON			1											
20	BLAƊEMAN	GUILDFORD							1							
	BLAƊEMAN	NOTTINGHAM					1									
	BLAƊEN	,,						1								
21	BLAƊERE	THETFORD					1			1	1					
	BLARERE	,,								1						
	BLALRA	,,								1						
	ALARA	,,									1					
22	BOGA	TAUNTON				1										
23	BRAƊEMAN	DORCHESTER						1								
24	BRAD	WALLINGFORD								1						
	BRAND	,,					1		1	1	1					
	BRΛND	WINCHESTER					1									
	BRND	NOTTINGHAM								1						
25	BRIƊSIƊE	LONDON					1									
	BRIƊSIE	,,					1									
	BRIEXSIE	,,					1									
	BRIXSIE	,,					1									
26	BRID	HASTINGS					1	1	1							
27	BRIHTRIƊ	LEICESTER								1	1					
	,,	LINCOLN					1									
	,,	WALLINGFORD					1	1		1						
	,,	COLCHESTER						1			1					
	,,	SOUTHWARK									1					
	,,	IPSWICH						1			1					
	BRIHRIƊ	,,									1					
	BRIHTRINƊ	,,								1						
	BRITRIƊ	COLCHESTER								1						

28	BRIHTMER	LONDON						1	1		1						
	,,	WINCHESTER						1	1	1							
	,,	WALLINGFORD								1							
29	BRIHTRED	LONDON			1												
	,,	OXFORD								1							
30	BRIHTƿOLD	,,				1	1	1			1						
	,,	WINCHESTER					1										
31	BRIHTƿINE	WALLINGFORD					1	1									
	,,	LONDON					1										
32	BRIHTNONÐ	GLOUCESTER								1							
	BRIHTNOÐ	,,								1	1						
33	BRVMAN	IPSWICH								1							
	BRVM	,,									1						
34	BRIXI	WILTON								1							
35	BRVNGAR	,,	1														
	,,	LONDON				1		1									
36	BRVNHESE	COLCHESTER						1									
	BRVNHVSE	,,					1			1	1						
37	BRVNINE	IPSWICH					1	1		1	1						
	,,	WALLINGFORD						1		1							
	,,	TAMWORTH								1	1						
	(BRV)NINE	LEICESTER					1										
	BRVNIE	IPSWICH								1							
38	BRVNƿINE	LONDON			1												
	,,	STANFORD			1			1		1	1						
	,,	WALLINGFORD					1	1	1	1							
	BVREƿINE	,,									1						
	,,	WINCHESTER									1						
40	ÆNELM	NORWICH					1										
41	ÆOLEƿI	DOVER									1						
	ÆIOLƿR	,,								1	1						
	ÆOLEƿ	,,									1						

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
42	ÆILDA	BEDWIN						1		1	1					
43	ÆINSTAN	DOVER					1									
	ÆIRæTAN	,,									1					
44	ÆODSVINV	LONDON			1											
	ÆOSVNV	,,			1											
45	ÆOLBRAND	LEICESTER					1									
46	ÆOLGRIM	LINCOLN					1									
47	DERMON	STEYNING											1			
	DIOMAN	,,								1						
	DIORMAN	COLCHESTER								1						
	DEORMAN	,,						1								
48	DVNNIN	LEICESTER							1							
	DVNNINÆ	HASTINGS									1					
	DVNING	,,								1						
	DVNINE	,,								1						
	DVRINÆ	,,		1												
	,,	LONDON								1						
	DVRIÆ	,,									1					
	DVDNIÆ	,,					1									
49	DVRÆIL	WILTON						1	1							
50	DVRFERÐ	LONDON								1						
	DVREVERÐ	NORWICH					1									
	DVBITRÐ	,,					1									
	DVLFDADD	LONDON									1					
51	ÐEEI	MALDON						1	1							
52	ÐEODRED	SOUTHAMPTON									1					

50 or 53	ÐORFORÐ	NORWICH					1									
	ÐORFRÐ	,,					1									
	ÐVRFYRÐ	,,		1												
	ÐVRFERÐ	,,		1			1	1								
	ÐVRFÐ	,,					1	1								
	ÐVRFVRÐ	,,					1									
	,,	WILTON							1							
54	ÐVRGRIM	NORWICH										1				
55	ÐVRSTAN	,,						1		1	1					
	ÐORSTAN	,,								1						
56	ÐORR	YORK							1	1		1				
57	EADMVND	LONDON				1	1									
58	EADƿEARD	CANTERBURY							1	1						
	EADƿARD	,,								1	1	1				
	EADƿERD	,,					1			1						
	,,	CAMBRIDGE								1						
	EDƿARD	LONDON								1						
59	EADƿINE	,,								1						
	,,	ROCHESTER							1							
	EDƿINE	CHESTER					1									
	,,	NORWICH								1	1					
	,,	OXFORD						1								
	,,	LONDON		1			1			1	1					
60	EADƿI	HEREFORD								1						
	EDƿII	WINCHESTER					1									
61	ÆADƿIC	MALMSBURY						1								
62	EADRD	CAMBRIDGE									1					
	EDRED	LONDON					1	1			1					
63	ET·L·DƿI	MALDON						1								
64	EAƿVLF	GLOUCESTER					1									
65	EARNƿI	SHREWSBURY									1					

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
66	EDRIC	LINCOLN									1					
67	EDSIE	EXETER					1									
68	EÐESTAN	BRISTOL					1									
	ÐESTAN	,,					1									
	EÐVTAN	,,						1								
	ESTAN	,,					1	1								
69	EGELPI	OXFORD				1										
	ÆLELPI	,,									1					
	EGELPI	LONDON									1					
	ÆGELPI	,,			1						1					
	,,	CRICKLADE							1							
	ÆGLPI	LONDON									1					
	ÆGLPI	OXFORD									1					
70	ÆEPI	,,					1									
71	EGELPINE	TAMWORTH					1									
	,,	SUDBURY									1					
	ÆGELPINE	LEWES									1					
	ÆGLPINE	CRICKLADE									1					
72	EGELRIC	LONDON		1												
73	EGELSIE	THETFORD					1									
74	ELPIC	OXFORD								1						
	ELPI	CAMBRIDGE						1								
75	EIDEL	WORCESTER					1									

	EIELƿINE	WINCHESTER					1										
	EIELƿIN	ILCHESTER						1									
	EILƿINE	LANCASTER					1										
76	,,	THETFORD									1						
	,,	OXFORD					1			1							
	ÆILƿINE	CRICKLADE					1	1									
	EILPI	WALLINGFORD					1										
	EIIƿIC	OXFORD					1			1							
77	EIƿII	LONDON					1										
	EƿII	,,					1										
78	ÆIELMER	BATH					1				1						
79	EILRIC	LONDON						1									
80	EILSIE	THETFORD	1				1	1									
81	ELFEN	SHREWSBURY					1										
82	ELFER	YORK	1														
83	ÆLFGAR	LONDON					1										
84	ÆLFGET	SHREWSBURY					1			1				2			
	ELFƿARD	TAMWORTH									1						
	,,	BRISTOL					1										
	ÆLFƿARD	CANTERBURY									1						
	,,	LONDON					1		1	1							
	ELFƿERD	SHAFTESBURY								1							
85	ÆLFƿERD	LONDON					1				1						
	ÆLFƿEARD	,,							1	1							
	ÆLFƿALD	,,	1														
	ÆLFƿED	CANTERBURY		1													
	ELƿERD	LONDON								1			1				
	ELƿARD	,,				1											

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
86	ELFNOÐ	LINCOLN						1		1						
	ELFƿINE	CHICHESTER								1						
	,,	CAMBRIDGE					1	1		1						
	,,	GUILDFORD		1												
	,,	SOUTHAMPTON								1			TIME			
	,,	THETFORD		1				1		1	1					
	,,	WILTON				1	1			1						
	,,	WORCESTER									1					
	,,	LONDON				1			1							
	,,	IPSWICH									1					
	,, EE	YORK					1									
87	ÆLFƿINE	CHICHESTER								1						
	,,	LONDON			1		1				1					
	,,	SOUTHAMPTON					1	1		1	1					
	,,	THETFORD									1					
	,,	WINCHESTER					1	1	1	1	1					
	,,	HUNTINGDON		1	1		1			1						
	,,	NORWICH								1						
	,,	BRISTOL							1		1					
	ELƿINE	CHICHESTER					1									
	ELFƿII	CAMBRIDGE						1								
88	ÆLFƿI	OXFORD					1			1	1					
	ÆLFƿIG	,,									1					
89	ELFRED	LONDON		1						1						
	ÆLFRED	CANTERBURY					1									
	ELFRIE	BRISTOL					1	1								
	,,	EXETER								1						
90	,,	GUILDFORD								1						
	,,	LONDON				1										
	,,	THETFORD					1									
	ÆLRIE	CHESTER								1						

91	ELFSIEADA	LEICESTER								1						
	ELFSIE	,,		1	1		1	1								
	ELFSI	,,								1						
	,,	LONDON									1					
	ÆLFSIE	LEWES					1									
	ÆLFSIE	GLOUCESTER					1									
	ÆLFSIIE	LONDON							1	1	1		1			
92	ELFSTAN	,,		1												
	,,	WILTON			1											
93	ELDRED	LONDON					1									
	ELRED	CANTERBURY					1	1	1							
94	ELGIE	CHESTER								1						
95	ELM	BEDFORD					1									
96	ELFPOLD	WILTON								1	1					
	ELFPIIE	WINCHESTER			1											
	ELFPIE	STAMFORD					1									
97	ELPINE	CHESTER								1						
	,,	EXETER					1									
	,,	OXFORD						1								
	ELPI	,,					1									
	,,	CHESTER								1						
98	ELPIE	OXFORD								1						
99	ELRLD	LONDON					1									
100	EORLFPINE	BATH									1					
101	ERFREE	STAMFORD					1	1								
102	ERIIE	,,					1									
103	ERNERIM	YORK					1									
104	ESTAN	WINCHESTER					1	1								
	ESTAN	BRISTOL					1	1								
	ESTASN	WORCESTER					1									
105	ERNPIG	HEREFORD									1					
106	ESTAND	THETFORD					1									
	ESTMVND	,,		1			1	1		1						
	MVND	,,					1									

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	E.F	G.H	I. VAR.
107	FAREBIƿ	SANDWICH		1												
108	FARGRIM	LEICESTER					1									
	FERGRIM	STAMFORD					1									
109	FOLEƿINE	SUDBURY								1						
	FOLEƿINE	,,						1		1						
	FOLƿINE	,,						1								
110	FORNA	NOTTINGHAM							1		1					
	FORN	,,								1						
	FORMAN	,,									1					
111	FROMA	DERBY					1			1	1					
	FROME	,,					1									
112	GARFIN	LINCOLN									1					
113	GARVLF	WORCESTER						1								
114	GIVE	LINCOLN								1						
	GIFE	,,								1						
115	GILDEƿINE	CANTERBURY					1				1					
	GYLDEƿINE	,,				1	1	1								
116	GODELEOF	THETFORD						1			1		1	1		
	ƊODELIF	,,								1	1					
	ƊODELEF	,,					1			1	1					
	ƊODLEF	,,									1					
	EDELIF	,,								1						
	ƊDELIƊ	,,									1					
117	GODƊILD	WATCHET			1	1										
118	GODMLAMB	SOUTHAMPTON									1					
119	ƊODMAN	LONDON						1								
	ƊODMANN	WINCHESTER						1								

120	LODƴINE, or	BEDFORD								1							
	6 ,,	BRISTOL						1			1						
	,,	CHICHESTER							1								
	,,	COLCHESTER								1							
	,,	CAMBRIDGE									1						
	,,	HERTFORD									1				1		
	,,	HUNTINGDON						1		1	1						
	,,	LONDON			1		1	1	1	1							
	,,	MALDON								1	1						
	,,	NORWICH							1		1						
	,,	IPSWICH						1									
	,,	STAMFORD				1	1	1		1							
	,,	THETFORD				1	1				1		1				
	,,	WINCHESTER					1		1	1							
	,,	YORK						1									
	LODƴINEƴIDE	WINCHESTER						1									
121	LODRIC	BATH					1		1								
	,,	HUNTINGDON					1	1		1	1						
	,,	LONDON				1		1		1	1		1			1	
	,,	CHESTER								1	1						
	,,	LINCOLN			1	1	1	1	1	1	1						
	,,	MALDON								1							
	,,	SALISBURY								1							
	,,	SANDWICH										1			Q.Y.		
	,,	SHAFTESBURY									1						
	,,	SOUTHWARK									1						
	,,	THETFORD								1	1						
	,,	WINCHESTER			1		1										
122	LOLBIN	DERBY									1						
123	LOLDMAN	COLCHESTER						1		1	1						

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
124	GOLDƿINE	WINCHELSEA								1						
	,,	WINCHESTER									1					
	GOLDEƿINE	,,					1									
125	GOLDSIE	LONDON		1				1								
	ƓOLTSNE	,,			1											
126	G( )VRINE	,,								1						
127	GOLLERD	THETFORD								1						
128	ƓOTSINI	CAMBRIDGE					1									
129	GVOLEƿINE	GLOUCESTER								1						
130	HALDENE	NOTTINGHAM					1									
131	HAREƓOD	OXFORD								1						
	HERFƓOD	,,									1					
132	HERÐƓYN	STAMFORD				1	1									
133	HERED	WILTON									1					
	HERRD	,,								1	1					
134	HEÐEƿVLF	WATCHET								1						
135	HƿTTEMAN	DORCHESTER					1									
	HƿAƓEMAN	BRISTOL		1												
136	HRINƓVLF	NORWICH						1								
137	HVNNA	MALDON				1										
138	HVNEƿINE	EXETER					1									
139	HVSƓARL	LEICESTER						1			1					
	( )RIƓ	SHREWSBURY							1							
140	IOLE	YORK						1								
	IOLA	,,					1									
	IOL·L·A	,,				1										

	LADMÆR	WINCHESTER				1										
141	LEFINE	,,									1					
	LEFƿINE	LINCOLN									1					
	,,	NORWICH								1						
	,,	DERBY								1						
	LEƿINE	NORWICH								1						
	,,	WILTON					1									
	LEOFƿINE	NORWICH					1	1								
	,,	DERBY					1			1						
	,,	GLOUCESTER							1		1					
	,,	LONDON	1													
	,,	LEICESTER					1									
	,,	SHREWSBURY					1									
	,,	STAMFORD	1				1				1					
142	,,	SOUTHAMPTON					1	1		1						
	,,	THETFORD					1	1								
	,,	WILTON						1		1	1					
	,,	WINCHESTER	1				1				1					
	,,	EXETER									1					
	,,	CHICHESTER		1												
	,,	CANTERBURY	1				1		1		1					
	LIOFƿINE	DERBY									1					
	,,	HUNTINGDON								1						
	,,	STAMFORD								1						
	,,	THETFORD						1								
	,,	NORWICH								1						
	,,	CANTERBURY								1						
	LIFƿINE	ROCHESTER							1							
	LIOƿINE	NORWICH						1		1						
	EOFƿINE	,,									1					

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	F.H		
143	LEOFDEƐN	BEDFORD								1						
	LEOFENOÐ	GLOUCESTER						1								
	,,	HEREFORD					1									
	,,	LEICESTER					1									
144	LEOFNOÐ	GLOUCESTER		1						1						
	LIOFNOÐ	,,								1						
	LEOFNOÐ	YORK					1									
	LEOFINÐ	,,					1									
	LEOFNAÐ	LEICESTER									1					
145	LEOFNINƐ	LONDON								1						
146	LEOFÞERD	COLCHESTER					1	1								
	,,	LONDON					1									
	LIOFÞERD	LEWES								1						
147	LEOFÞOLD	IPSWICH						1	1	1	1					
	,,	WINCHESTER								1	1					
	LIOFÞOLD	,,												1		
	,,	IPSWICH								1						
	LIODÞOLD	WINCHESTER								1						
148	LEOFRIC	STAMFORD					1		1				1			
	,,	WARWICK					1									
	,,	THETFORD					1									
	LIOFRIC	STAMFORD								1						
	,,	CHESTER								1						
	,,	NORWICH								1						
	,,	WORCESTER								1						
	LEFRIC	NORWICH								1						
	,,	SOUTHAMPTON				1			1							
	,,	STAMFORD									1					

149	LEOFSIE	LONDON					1	1										
	LEOFSTAN	IPSWICH	1															
	,,	SHREWSBURY					1	1										
150	,,	CANTERBURY					1	1		1	1							
	LIOFSTAN	,,			1		1		1									
	,,	WORCESTER								1	1							
	LIFINE	IPSWICH			1	1												
	,,	EXETER			1		1	1			1							
151	,,	WINCHESTER		1	1		1	1	1	1	1							
	,,	LONDON		1	1		1			1								
	LIFIE	IPSWICH					1											
152	LOE	WINCHESTER					1											
153	LVEINE	WARWICK					1											
	LEOFRED	CRICKLADE						1										
	,,	LONDON			1		1	1										
	,,	SOUTHWARK						1										
	MAN	CANTERBURY									1							
	MANNA	,,					1											
	MANF	,,								1								
154	MANA	LINCOLN					1											
	MANNA	,,					1	1										
	ANA	,,					1											
	ANNA	,,									1							
155	MANƿINE	DOVER									1	1						
	MARLERE	BURY S. EDMUND									1							
156	MORLERE	,,					1	1										
	MORL RE	,,								1								
157	OÐBEORN	LINCOLN						1										
	OUÐBORN	YORK												1				

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	G.H		
158	OÐERIN	LINCOLN					1									
	ODORIN	,,					1									
159	OÐLRIM	,,		1			1	1		1	1		1			
	ODLRIM	,,					1		1	1	1					
	OÐLRIM	YORK								1	1					
	OÐLRƿI	,,								1						
160	OÐOLF	,,									1					
161	OMVND	LONDON								1	1					
	OSMVND	,,								1						
	,,	SOUTHWARK									1					
162	OSMÆR	BATH						1	1	1	1					
163	OSLAC	LINCOLN					1			1						
164	OSFERÐ	,,					1	1								
	OSFVRÐ	,,					1	1								
165	OSƿARD	ILCHESTER					1									
	OSƿARDE	STAMFORD									1					
166	OSƿOLD	LEWES							1	1	1					
167	OUTI	LINCOLN											1			
168	PRICE	NORWICH									1					
169	RÆDEL	BATH		1		1										
170	REDVLF	HERTFORD		1												
171	RINIƿI	MALMSBURY									1					
172	RINVLF	NORWICH				1										

173	ꝏDVLA	YORK			1		1			1							
174	ꝏÆƿINE	EXETER							1		1						
	,,	SOUTHAMPTON								1	1		1				
175	ꝏÆMER	HERTFORD								1				1			
176	SEOLDƿINE	GLOUCESTER									1						
	SELGƿINE	,,								1							
177	ꝏIEDOLF	CAMBRIDGE								1	1						
	IEDOLF	,,									1						
178	SIDEMAN	WAREHAM							1								
179	ꝏILOD	BEDFORD								1	1						
180	ꝏILAD	GLOUCESTER								1							
181	ꝏIRED	CANTERBURY									1						
182	SNEBORN	YORK									1						
183	SNOTER	NOTTINGHAM		1													
184	STANMÆR	COLCHESTER					1	1									
185	STIRDOL	YORK					1	1									
	STYRDO·L	,,					1										
186	SVMERED	THETFORD									1						
	SVMERLD	,,								1	1						
	SVMERLIDE	,,								1							
	SVMRD	,,									1						
	SVMRƿ	,,									1						
187	SƿATID	DERBY			1												
188	SƿARDOL	YORK						1									
	SƿARDOLF	STAMFORD								1	1		1				
	SƿARTDOL	YORK						1		1							
	ꝏƿEARTDOL	LEICESTER							1								
189	SƿAREƿINE	WINCHESTER							1	1							

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L			
190	SƿETMAN	LONDON		1			1	1			1					
	,,	OXFORD					1			1						
	,,	SOUTHAMPTON									1		1			
	,,	SOUTHWARK						1			1					
191	SƿETRIC	ROCHESTER							1							
	,,	WILTON							1	1						
192	SPOT	BEDFORD		1			1		1							
193	SPRACELINC	LONDON					1									
	,,	WINCHESTER							1	1						
	SPRACELINC	,,							1							
	SPRACALNG	,,									1					
194	VELSTAN	CANTERBURY									1					
195	VLFCTEL	YORK							1	1						
	CVTEL	,,		1												
196	ƿIBEARN	CAMBRIDGE									1					
197	ƿICINC	EXETER								1						
	ƿICINC	WORCESTER							1							
198	ƿILCRIƿ	HERTFORD					1									
	ƿILCRƿ	STAMFORD								1						
	ƿILCRIƿ	,,		1							1					
	,,	CHESTER									1					
199	ƿINEMAN	SALISBURY				1										
200	ƿINVS	WILTON									1					
201	ƿIODEMAN	WAREHAM								1						
	IODEMAN	,,								1						
202	ƿVLBEORN	LINCOLN					1			1						
	ƿVLBORN	,,								1						
	ƿVLBERN	,,					1									
	ƿVLBREN	,,								1	1					

203	ÞVLF	,,	1														
	VLF	,,		1			1		1	1	1						
204	ÞVLFGAR	LONDON								1	1						
	ÞVLFGER	,,								1							
	ÞVL GAR	,,								1	1		1				
205	ÞVLFGET	GLOUCESTER						1									
206	ÞVLFMÆR	LONDON								1							
	ÞVLMÆR	,,								1							
	,,	EXETER						1		1	1						
	,,	ROMNEY								1							
	,,	SHREWSBURY			1	1	1				1						
207	ÞVLFNOÐ	SOUTHAMPTON							1	1	1						
	ÞVLNOÐ	CHESTER					1										
208	ÞVLFSI	NORWICH								1							
	,,	WAREHAM								1							
	,,	LONDON									1						
	ÞVLFSIE	IPSWICH					1	1									
	ÞVLSIE	,,					1										
	,,	CANTERBURY						1									
	ÞVLSIL	LONDON			1												
209	ÞVLFÞI	OXFORD									1						
	,,	BEDFORD					1	1		1							
	,,	CAMBRIDGE									1						
	ÞVLFÞIL	LONDON							1								
	ÞVLFÞIN	CAMBRIDGE								1	1						
	ÞVLFÞINE	BEDFORD									1						
	,,	CANTERBURY								1							
	,,	COLCHESTER						1		1	1						
	,,	LONDON			1												
	,,	WAREHAM									1						
	ÞVLÞINE	LONDON			1												
	,,	COLCHESTER								1	1						

TABLE V.—(*Continued.*)

			A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	TYPE VII.		
210	ÞVLFÞARD	GLOUCESTER								1						
	ÞVLFÞEARD	LONDON									1					
211	ÞVLFRED	CANTERBURY					1									
	,,	LONDON		1	1											
212	ÞVLFRIL	CHICHESTER								1						
	,,	HASTINGS								1						
	,,	LINCOLN								1						
	,,	ROCHESTER			1											
	,,	SHAFTESBURY					1	1		1				1		
	,,	STEYNING						1	1							
	ÞVLRIL	CHICHESTER								1						
213	ÞVLSTAN	CANTERBURY					1	1								
214	ÞVNSTAN	WINCHESTER					1									
215	ÞVRSTAN	NORWICH								1	1					
	,,	WAREHAM								1						
216	ÞVRLOL	WALLINGFORD								1						
217	ÞVRFVRÞ	THETFORD								1						
218	ÞVLFÞIL	LONDON							1							

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Records of the Coinage of Scotland, from the Earliest Period to the Union. Collected by R. W. Cochran Patrick, F.S.A. Scot., &c. (Edinburgh, 1876, Edmonston and Douglas.)

These two handsome quarto volumes will be hailed with delight by all who are interested in Scottish numismatics, and may be regarded as affording models which it would be well to follow by all who undertake to write the history of the coinage of any particular country. Not only are the Acts of Parliament, the Exchequer Rolls, the Acts of Privy Council, and the Miscellaneous Records relating to the coinage of each reign given *in extenso*, but the whole history of the Scottish mint and coinage is summarised in an Introductory Essay extending over two hundred pages. Of the coins themselves, sixteen effective autotype plates are given, which prove how admirably this process is adapted for the representation of coins. The main object of the author has, however, been to bring together all the documentary evidence relating to the coinage of his country rather than to enter into mere details of varieties in the coins. As a supplement to the works of Cardonnel, Lindsay, Wingate, and others, these Records will be invaluable to the antiquary and numismatist. To the readers of the "Numismatic Chronicle" who are already familiar with the value of the author's researches, we can only say that Mr. Cochran Patrick's volumes are probably the most handsome and complete of their kind that have ever appeared in this country.

Die Orientalische Münzen des Museum‹ der Kaiserlichen Historisch-Archæologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa. Von Dr. O. Blau. (Odessa, E. Berndt, 1876.)

Dr. Otto Blau, whose thorough knowledge of oriental numismatics has long been shown in his numerous contributions to the "Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.," and to the "Numismatische Zeitschrift" of Vienna, has done good service to coin-lore in publishing this catalogue of the oriental cabinet of the Archæological Society of Odessa. The collection is not, indeed, a large one, containing only 3,500 pieces; and in the earlier

Mohammedan dynasties it is decidedly poor. But it has a *spécialité* which amply compensates for this weakness and makes it well worthy of study. As might be guessed from the geographical position of the collection at Odessa, this *spécialité* is the coinage of the Tatar dynasties, and, chief of all, the Kháns of the Krìm. Of the latter series the Odessa cabinet contains little less than 1,800 coins, or a half of the whole collection, and it is for this series that the catalogue is principally valuable, though some of the pieces of other dynasties present much that is of interest and something of rareness. Dr. Blau has done his work well. The nature of the coinages described demanded but short notices, and he has been able so to condense his descriptions that a thin quarto volume of less than a hundred pages contains accounts of 3,500 coins. Though some of Dr. Blau's readings are open to discussion, it may be said without hesitation that the vast majority of them are undoubtedly accurate, and that the work may be thoroughly trusted by oriental numismatists, to whose library it forms a very valuable addition.

S. L. P.

MISCELLANEA.

Medal of the Order of "La Mouche à Miel."—As far back as 1868 I sent a note to the Numismatic Chronicle (N. S., vol. viii. p. 350), requesting information relating to a medalet in my possession, the numerous initial letters on which I found it impossible to decipher. Whether it was that numismatists have thought the matter beneath their notice, or that no one was able to explain the legend, I am unable to say, but my query has remained unanswered. I am now in a position to answer it myself; and, as it relates to a matter of literary if not of historical interest, the readers of the Chronicle will, I hope, be glad of the explanation.

I will first repeat the description of it, as it is not long, and as in the former account there were two errors, whether owing to my fault or to that of the printer I cannot say.

Brass, size 8 (Mion.).

Obv.—**L. BAR. D. SC. D. P. D. L. O. D. L. M. A. M.** Youthful female head to right.

Rev.—**PICCOLA SI. MA FA PUR GRAVI LE FERITE.**[1] A bee flying right over rough ground, a bee-hive in the distance. In exergue 1703.

I find it is a medal of the order of "La Mouche à Miel" (the honey-bee), which was instituted by la Duchesse de Maine. A brief notice of this order appeared a short time back in the *Daily News*, which put me on the right track and enabled me to solve the difficulty.

Anne Louise Benedicte (Benoîte), the daughter of Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (son of the great Condé), was born in 1676. In 1692, at the age of sixteen, she married Louis Auguste de Bourbon, Duc de Maine, the second natural son of Louis XIV. and la Marquise de Montespan. The Duke was born in 1670, and had been legitimated in 1673. In 1700 he purchased the barony of Sceaux[2] from the heirs of M. de Seignelay, and here the Duchess established a sort of court and in 1703 founded this order of La Mouche à Miel, the knights of which wore the medal in question struck in gold.[3]

The head on the obverse is a portrait of the Duchess, and the legend is to be read thus: Louise BARonne De SCeaux Dictatrice Perpétuelle De L'Ordre De La Mouche A Miel.[4]

The legend on the reverse is stated to be a quotation from the "Aminta" of Tasso,[5] but this is not strictly accurate. The passage from which it is extracted occurs at the beginning of the

---

[1] In the former description the **D.** between **P.** and **L.** in the obverse legend was omitted, and in that of the reverse **GRAVE** was printed for **GRAVI.**

[2] Sceaux had been created a barony the year before.

[3] "Cette médaille frappée en 1703 est d'or, et pèse 3 gros 60 grains" (Recréations Numismatiques, by Tobiesin Duby). The medal is engraved Pl. IV. No. 4, and also in the Trésor Numismatique; Médailles Françaises, part iii., Pl. XXXV., No. 7.

[4] By a curious error M. Duby reads the legend thus: "Anne Marie Louise Baronne de Sceaux, Dictatrice perpétuelle de l'Ordre de la Mouche," where there is not only a mistake as to the name of the Duchess, but the order is represented as that of the "Fly" instead of the "Bee." M. Duby has taken the letters A. M. (à miel) as part of the name.

[5] See "Biographie Générale," "Rec. Num.," "Tres. Num.," *ut supra.* In the latter work the legend on the reverse is printed, "Piccola si, fà mà pur," &c.

first scene of the second act, in a soliloquy by Satiro, and runs thus:—

> "Picciola è l'Ape, e fa col picciol morso
> Pur gravi, e pur moleste le ferite."

The Duchess died in 1753, and the order of the Bee with her.[6]

T. J. Arnold.

Nov., 1876.

Trent College, Derbyshire.—The museum of this flourishing school has lately been enriched by a series of electro-types of nearly two hundred Greek, Roman, and Jewish coins and gems, selected from the principal private and public collections on the Continent and in this country. In this way, the teaching of the languages and history of Greece and Rome will receive real and vivid illustration. For more easy reference the collection has been divided into the following departments: The History and Implements of Coining; the Rise and Development of Art; Mythology and Hero-Worship; Varieties of Letters and Dialectic Forms; Systems of Colonial and Federal Government; Greek and Roman Portraiture and History; Canting Devices; and a series to illustrate Biblical studies.

It may be expected that by such means of teaching a certain continuity may be established, and the ancient languages may be redeemed from the reproach of being *dead;* young philologers also may be stimulated to a more intelligent tillage of the many still uncultivated fields of archæology.

This new collection (the first of its kind, we believe) was formed at the expense of T. S. Evans, Esq., M.P., the selection of the various types being a labour of love on the part of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A.

ERRATA.

Page 256, line 14, and page 264, last line, *for* Hoakington *read* Hockington.

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[6] M. Feuardent, who kindly assisted me in my researches on this subject, has lately written to me from Paris that they have found the dies of the medal at the Mint (la Monnaie).

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SICILY

COINS OF ASCERTAINED DATE. B.C. 510–400.

SICILY.

COINS OF ASCERTAINED DATE B.C. 400 — 200.

SICILY.

DEVELOPMENTS OF TYPES. I.

SICILY.

DEVELOPMENTS OF TYPES. II.

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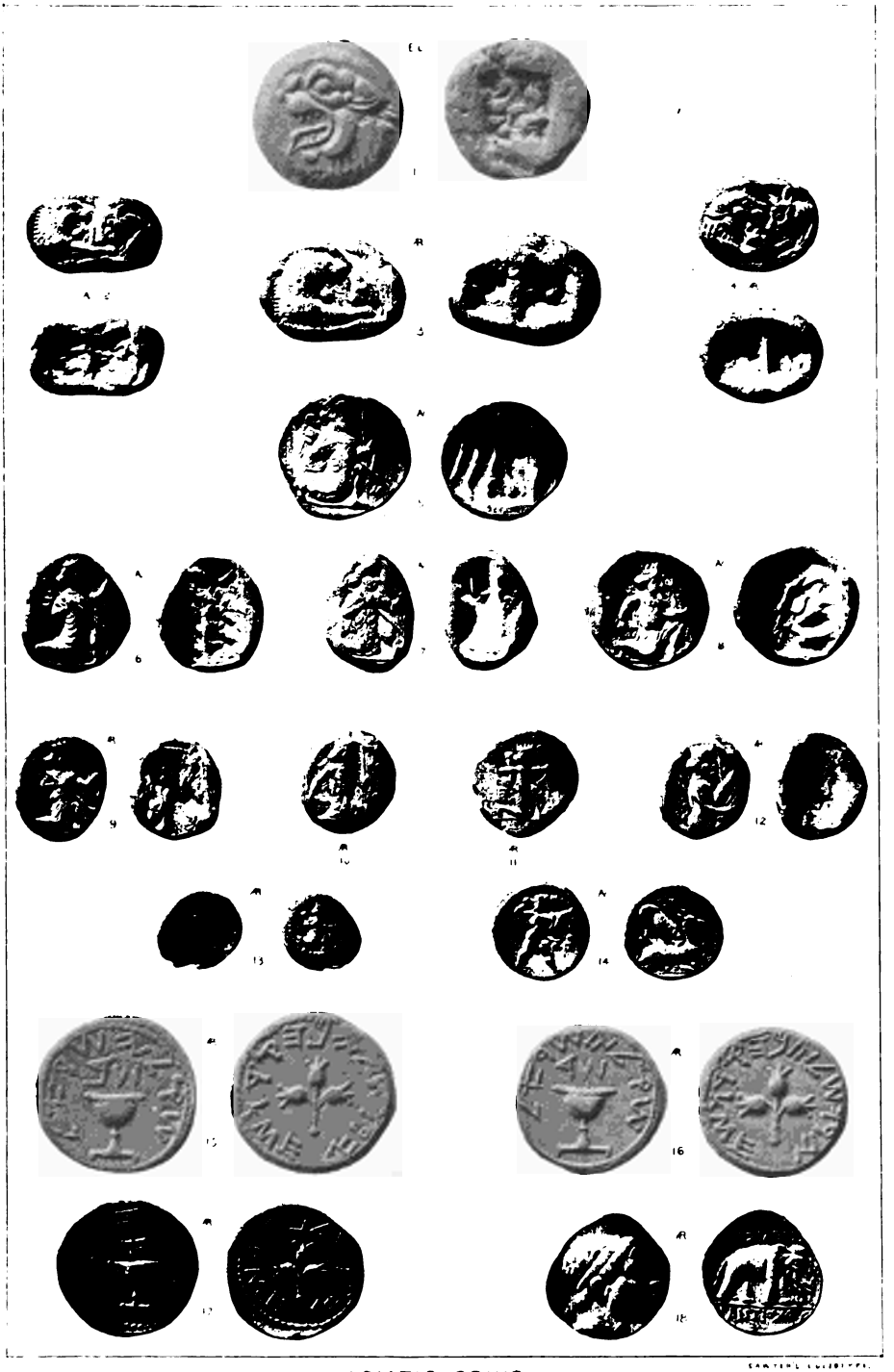

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MENTIONED OR ALLUDED TO IN
THE OLD TESTAMENT.

T T Lees

WALLACHIAN COINS AND MEDAL.

STATERS OF CYZICUS &c.

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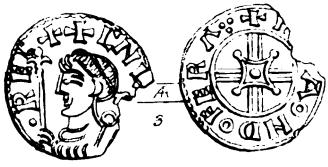

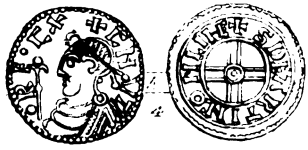

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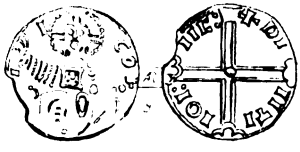

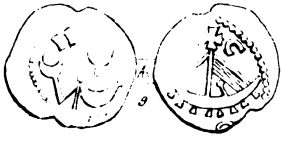

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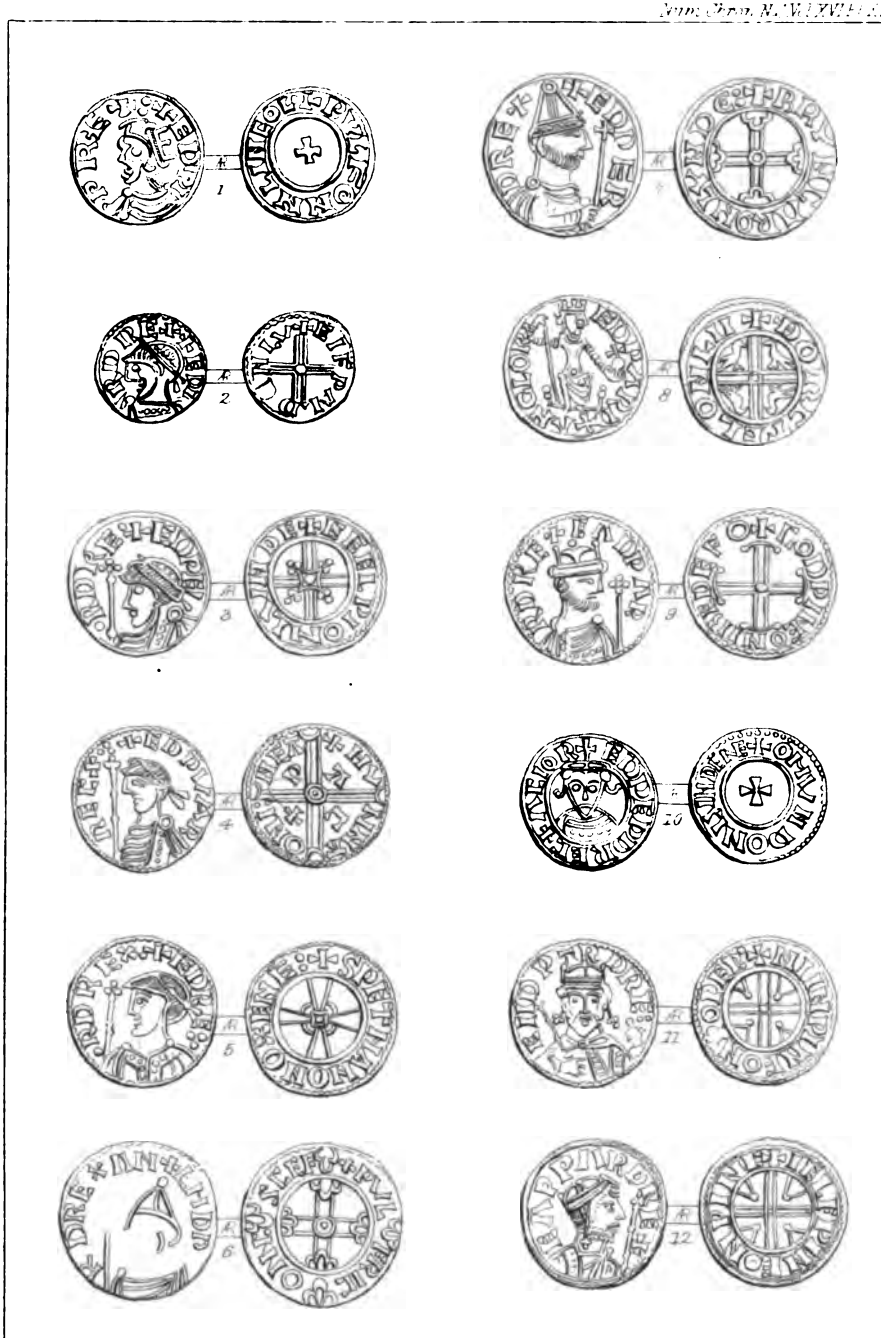

T J Rees

THE CITY HOARD. PLATE II.

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THE CITY HOARD. PLATE III.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1875—1876.

OCTOBER 21, 1875.

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The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Numismatique, par M. Camille Picqué. From the Author.

2. History of India. Vol. vi. By Sir H. Elliot. From Lady Elliot.

3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. vi., No. 4. From the Society.

4. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., Vol. vii., Part II. From the Society.

5. The Smithsonian Report for 1873. From the Smithsonian Institution.

6. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Royale &c., de Luxembourg. Vol. xxix. (vii.), 1874. From the Institute.

7. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Parts I.—III., 1875. From the Society.

8. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxv.

Parts X.—XIX., with Proceedings, Nos. 1—3, January to July, 1875. From the Academy.

9. Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz. Band iii., Heft 2. From the Society.

10. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 1875, Parts III. and IV. From the Editor.

11. Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Vol. iv., Part I. From the Society.

12. Sussex Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century. By J. S. Smallfield and E. Ellman. From the Authors.

13. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 4th Series, Vol. iii., No. 21. From the Association.

14. Numismata Cromwelliana. Part III. By H. W. Henfrey. From the Author.

15. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1866, Parts I.—IV.; 1867, Parts I.—III., with Supplement; and 1874, Parts I.—IV. with Supplement and Mémoires. From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.

16. Antiquarisk Tidskrift. 1858—1863. From the same.

17. Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, &c. 1861—1863. From the same.

18. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord. 1850—1860 and 1866. From the same.

19. Islendinga Sögur. Vol. iii., 1875. From the same.

20. Njála, &c. From the same.

21. Kongehöiene i Jellinge, &c. From the same.

22. Clavis poetica antiquæ linguae Septemtrionalis. By B. Gröndal. From the same.

23. Copy of an Indenture between his Majesty, on the one part, and Henry Slingesby, Esq., master and worker of the Mint, on the other part. From R. W. Cochran Patrick, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

Mr. E. Burns exhibited a shilling and a sixpence of the

Commonwealth, both dated 1659, and with the anchor mint-mark.

Mr. H. Willett exhibited a Dutch silver jetton commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

Mr. J. W. Singer submitted a manuscript work, entitled "A Continuation of the Dissertation on the Coins of this Realm, from the Earliest down to the Present Time (that of Queen Anne)," by A. Mackerell.

Mr. Evans exhibited a gold half-crown of James the First, with the thistle mint-mark, attributed by Mr. Cochran Patrick to the Scottish Series. Also a small silver Gaulish coin, one of a find lately discovered in Jersey, and inscribed ESVIOS, a name which is remarkable as recurring at a later date in the form ESUVIUS as one of the names of the Emperor Tetricus.

NOVEMBER 18, 1875.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Robert Blair, Esq., Thos. Coats, Esq., W. Stavenhagen Jones, Esq., T. B. Kirby, Esq., E. Fairfax Studd, Esq., and Ernest Willett, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. A bronze medal in commemoration of the visit of the Czar of Russia to the City of London in 1874. From the Corporation of the City of London.

2. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. iv., No. 2, October 1875. From the Society.

3. Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Fourth Series, Vol. iii. April 1875, No. 22. From the Association.

Mr. C. Golding exhibited a MS., apparently of the sixteenth

century, showing a comparison of the weights of various English and foreign coins in gold.

Mr. Attwood exhibited a twenty-dollar gold piece of Great Salt Lake City, date 1849.

Mr. D. J. Ghica read a paper "On a Unique Gold Medal struck by Michel the Brave of Wallachia, now in the British Museum." It is printed in the "Num. Chron.," N.S., vol. vi. p. 161.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper "On the Ancient Electrum Coins, struck between the Lelantian Wars and the Accession of Darius." It will be found in the "Num. Chron.," vol. xv. p. 245.

DECEMBER 16, 1875.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft. 52—56. From the Society.

2. Das Medusenhaupt von Blariacum von R. Gaedechens. Bonn, 1874. From the Author.

3. Le monete ossidionali di Brescia. By the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

4. Les monnaies Genoises de Kaffa. By the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited three half-shekels of Jerusalem of different dates, formerly attributed by most numismatists to the time of Simon Maccabæus, but lately restored by M. de Saulcy to that of Ezra.

Although the shekels of this coinage are now comparatively common, a large number having been found a year ago between Jerusalem and Jericho, yet the half-shekels remain rare.

Mr. B. V. Head read the second portion of a paper "On the

Ancient Coins in Electrum and Gold, struck between the Lelantian Wars and the Accession of Darius," commenced at the last meeting.

JANUARY 20, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1876. 1re liv. From the Society.

2. On Coins attributed by Mr. Lindsay to Kings of the Hebrides. By E. Burns, F.S.A. Scot. From the Author.

Mr. Evans exhibited an unpublished brass coin of Tasciovanus: *obverse*, TASCIO; bust, laureate to the right; *reverse*, TASCIO; lion, passant-guardant to the right upon an exergual line; the device upon both obverse and reverse within a beaded circle.

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt, of Damascus, communicated a paper on the coins of Palestine, consisting chiefly of a criticism of M. de Saulcy's "Numismatique de la Terre Sainte." See "Num. Chron.," vol. xvi. p. 315.

FEBRUARY 17, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Band v., No. 4. Leipzig, 1876. From the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

2. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. iv., No. 3. From the Society.

3. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. iii., 4th Series. July, 1875, No. 23. From the Association.

4. The Bristol Mint and its Productions. By H. W. Henfrey. From the Author.

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited a pattern half-groat of Charles I., incorrectly described and engraved by Ruding, vol. ii. p. 327, and vol. iii. Pl. XXII. 16; a Scottish shilling of James I. with the thistle mint-mark, found at Wenlock in 1875; a coin of Alexander III. of Scotland, found at Medbourne, in the county of Leicester, with the usual obverse, and ESCOSSIE REX on the reverse.

The Rev. Dr. Neligan sent for exhibition a rubbing from a gold coin of Jean de la Vallete, Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, A.D. 1557—1568.

Mr. Evans exhibited two unpublished seventeenth-century tokens, of Hughenden and Beaconsfield respectively, bearing the names of Francis Barnaby and John Foscet, which have since been presented to the British Museum.

Mr. P. Gardner read the first portion of a paper, entitled "Sicilian Studies," the object of the essay being to furnish a canon for the determination of the periods at which the various coins of Sicily were issued. It is printed in vol. xvi. p. 1.

MARCH 16, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Dr. Antonio D. Grati was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band iii., Heft 3. Berlin, 1876. From the Editor.

2. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Band iv., 2nd Semester, Vienna, 1875. Band v., Vienna, 1875. Bänder vi. and vii., Vienna, 1876. Together with the Jahresbericht der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien über das Jahr 1874. From the Numismatic Society of Vienna.

3. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4me trimestre de 1875. From the Society.

4. The Smithsonian Report for 1874. Washington, 1875. From the Smithsonian Institution.

5. Ninth Annual Report of the Warden of the Standards for 1874—5. From the Warden of the Standards.

Mr. Evans exhibited two Syracusan decadrachms of the Dionysian period, engraved by Euænetus and Cimon respectively, the latter being a fine specimen of the rare variety figured in Head's "Coinage of Syracuse," Pl. IV. No. 6.

Mr. Pearson exhibited some fine patterns of 1797 pennies of George III., Irish Bank tokens, &c.; and Mr. Hoblyn the following English coins: Anne, Edinburgh shilling of the second coinage, 1707 E; Victoria pattern decimal penny, 1859; pattern penny, 1862, with tiara; pattern rupee in tin; one-third farthing in bronze.

Mr. Vaux, in allusion to the proposed alteration of the title of the Queen, informed the Society that the Rao of Cutch has lately issued coins with the legend "Queen Victoria" transliterated into the native character, thus implying an acquaintance on the part of his subjects with the meaning of the English word "Queen," which it is not thought necessary to translate.

General Lefroy communicated a paper on the "Hog Money" of the Somers Islands, in which he described a sixpence of this the earliest English colonial coinage, hitherto unknown. See vol. xvi. p. 153.

Mr. Gardner read the second portion of a paper on the

Coins of the Greek Cities of Sicily, commenced at the last meeting.

April 20, 1876.

John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Issues of the Mint of the United States, chronologically arranged and described by W. S. Appleton. From the Author.

2. Description of Medals of Washington in the collection of W. S. Appleton. From the Author.

3. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. No. 2, February, 1872. From — Delmerick, Esq.

4. Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie. Tome xiv., 1872—1874. From the Society.

5. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1876. 2nd liv. From the Society.

6. Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1870. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited a few short-cross pennies, from a large hoard lately discovered in the neighbourhood of Le Mans, consisting in all of about six thousand coins, chiefly French, regal and baronial. Among them were about six hundred English pennies, together with some coins of William the Lion, and some Aquitaine and Poitou pieces of Richard the First. Mr. Evans remarked that the English coins in this hoard were all short-cross pennies of the types attributed by him to Henry II. and Richard I., no specimen being present of the type or variety attributed to John. The date of the deposit was, therefore, in Mr. Evans's opinion, not later than about A.D. 1200.

Mr. Vaux read a paper "On an Indenture preserved in the

Bodleian Library at Oxford, relating to certain farthings of James I." See vol. xvi. p. 235.

Mr. Henfrey communicated a note on the Naval Medals of the Commonwealth. See vol. xvi. p. 158.

Major A. B. Creeke sent a notice of some unpublished varieties of English coins, printed in vol. xvi. p. 150.

MAY 18, 1876.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society: R. F. W. Brandt, Esq., G. H. N Bridges, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Pearse, R.A., and G. B. Simpson, Esq.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., Vol. viii., Part II., April, 1876. From the Society.

2. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. iv., No. 4, April, 1876. From the Society.

3. Une Médaille mensongère. By the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

4. Médailles Russes. By the Baron de Koehne. From the Author.

Mr. T. Jones exhibited some archaic tetradrachms of Syracuse, of the time of Gelo and Hiero the First, and a fine decadrachm of the time of Dionysius the Elder; also a series of tetradrachms of Antiochus Soter, exceedingly well preserved.

Mr. Evans exhibited a gold coin of Cunobeline lately found near Ipswich, also a number of tokens struck in vulcanized india-rubber, for currency chiefly in South America.

Mr. Hoblyn exhibited a proof in tin of the current farthing of James II., with no inscription on the edge, and without the

usual stud of copper struck through the centre; also three pattern halfpennies of William and Mary, and a sixpence of William III., 1696, weighing seventy-six grains.

Mr. P. Gardner read a paper "On the Date of King Mostis," a prince who is not mentioned by any historian, but whose silver coins prove him to have reigned in Eastern Thrace about the middle of the third century B.C. Mr. Gardner also ascribed to the same period certain Thasian and Thracian coins bearing religious types and inscriptions such as Ἡρακλέους Σωτῆρος Θασιῶν, Διονύσου Σωτῆρος Μαρωνιτῶν, &c., probably commemorating the intervention of the tutelary deities of Thasos, Maronea, &c., who were supposed to have defended from the inroads of the barbarous Gauls, about that time ravaging Northern Greece, the cities and temples under their special protection, as Apollo himself is said to have fought on behalf of his ancient sanctuary and treasures at Delphi. See vol. xvi. p. 299.

Mr. H. S. Gill communicated a paper on seventeenth-century Devonshire tokens not described in Boyne's work. See vol. xvi. p. 247.

Mr. J. F. Dickson communicated a notice of two unpublished coins of Ceylon.

JUNE 15, 1876.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society, and have to announce their loss by death of the two following Members :—

W. H. Johnston, Esq.
C. R. Taylor, Esq.

and of our honorary Member, the Abbé Cochet of Dieppe; also, by resignation, of the five following Members :—

G. M. Bacon, Esq., M.D.
Henry Christie, Esq.
Henry Clark, Esq., M.D.
J. G. Pfister, Esq.
W. H. Whinfield, Esq.

The name of the Rev. C. Weatherley has also been erased from our list.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the eleven following Members :—

R. F. W. Brandt, Esq.
R. Blair, Esq.
G. H. N. Bridges, Esq.
Thos. Coats, Esq.
Dr. Antonio D. Grati.
W. Stavenhagen Jones, Esq.
T. B. Kirby, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. Pearse, R.A.
G. B. Simpson, Esq.
E. Fairfax Studd, Esq.
E. H. Willett, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1875 . .	1	157	38	196
Since elected	—	11	—	11
	1	168	38	207
Deceased	—	2	1	3
Resigned	1	4	—	5
Erased	—	1	—	1
Members, June, 1876 . .	—	161	37	198

Among our deceased Members, the name of the Abbé Cochet must not be passed over in silence. This well-known French antiquary was born near Hâvre in 1812. His early years were passed in the charming village of Étretat, on the coast of Normandy, among a population of hardy and simple-minded fishermen. Here he discovered the remains of a Roman Villa, and in 1839 commenced the series of his numerous publications with a history of "Étretat et ses Environs." From this time until the day of his death, in June, 1875, his labours in the field of Frankish and Merovingian archæology were unceasing, and he was, perhaps, better known in this country than any other French archæologist of his time. He was connected by intimate ties of friendship with Mr. C. Roach Smith, Mr. J. Y. Akerman, and Mr. Wylie, with all of whom he was in constant communication, and their joint work was productive of the most valuable results. As Cochet was not specially a numismatist, it is not necessary to give in these pages a detailed account of his life's work; but a general idea of the lofty aims of his earnest and unremitting labours may be best conveyed to our readers in his own words: "Many imagine, including my own labourers, that I dig in the earth for treasure. They take me for a Californian adventurer, who, not having the courage to emigrate from France to California, would transport Cali-

fornia into France. In their eyes I am a magician, who has learned from the stars, or old books and writings, the mysterious existence of concealed treasures. Others, more numerous, think that if I search in the earth it is to find vases, arms, coins, and other precious things. To speak the truth, when a beautiful object comes out of the earth, when something important is revealed by the pickaxe or the spade, I am not indifferent; but once taken from the earth, to me they lose half their value; and when they have been well studied, I deposit them with all pleasure in a public collection, and resign myself to see them, perhaps, no more. What I search for in the bosom of the earth is a thought. That which I seek for at each stroke of the workman is an idea. That which I am anxious to collect is not so much a vase or a coin, as a line of the past, written in the dust of time—a sentence on ancient manners; funereal customs; Roman or Barbarian industry. It is Truth that I would surprise in the bed where she has been laid by the witnesses of twelve, fifteen, or eighteen hundred years ago. I would willingly give all the objects possible for a revelation of this kind. Vases, coins, jewels, have only price and value when they reveal the name and talent of the artist, the character and genius of a people, in one word, the lost page of an extinct civilisation. This especially would I seek in the bosom of the earth. I would read there as in a book. Thus I interrogate the least grain of sand, the smallest stone, the most fugitive *débris*. I demand of them the secret of ages and of men, the life of nations, and the mysteries of the religion of peoples."

The Abbé Cochet was an Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, and contributed to the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S., vol. iii. p. 128) a notice of a medal of St. Benedict discovered by him in the grave of one of the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Saint Wondrille, in Normandy.

The President then delivered the following address:—

GENTLEMEN,—It has been usual at the Anniversary Meetings of this Society to preface any address that your President might deliver with some obituary notices of those members who had been removed by death from among its body during the past year. On the present occasion I am glad to say that the number of our deceased members resident in this country is limited to two, Mr. C. R. Taylor and Mr. W. H. Johnston, both of whom, though skilful numismatists, approached our subject rather from the commercial than the scientific side, and neither of whom, so far as I am aware, communicated any papers to our proceedings. I must therefore content myself with the mere mention of their names. Of our distinguished honorary member, the Abbé Cochet, a biographical sketch has already been given in the Report of the Council. I will add nothing to it beyond bearing my personal testimony to the great value of the archæological work he has performed during the last thirty-five years.

With regard to the Society itself, you have heard from the Report of the Council what is its present numerical strength and pecuniary position; and I am happy to think that in both respects we may regard ourselves as prosperous.

There is, however, still something to be desired as to an increase in the number of those who take an active part in our proceedings. When I look at the number of our members resident in London, at the convenient position of our place of meeting, at the character of the papers communicated to us, and the interesting nature of the coins and medals which are often exhibited, I am somewhat disappointed at the comparatively small attendance which not unfrequently is to be observed. The feeling may no doubt exist that the subjects brought forward at our meetings may, as a rule, be more profitably studied when the papers relating to them are printed in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, and can thus be read at leisure. It must not, however, be forgotten that the papers

are generally accompanied by the specimens to which they relate, and that the authors are usually present, so that any doubtful points can fairly be discussed, if others who are taking an interest in the same branch of study are present to raise any questions which may occur to them.

On the last anniversary, when I had the honour of addressing you, I ventured to point out a few lines of numismatic research which I thought might profitably be followed by our members. On the present occasion I shall mainly confine myself to a retrospect of the last year, during which the communications to the Society have neither been few nor unimportant. I shall of course include among the communications for the year any that have passed direct into the pages of the Chronicle without having been actually read at one of our meetings. Under the head of Ancient Numismatics, we have had important papers from Mr. B. V. Head on the ancient coins of electrum struck between the Lelantian Wars and the accession of Darius; from Mr. Percy Gardner upon the Sicilian coinage; and several articles from Mr. F. W. Madden on Jewish numismatics.

Mr. Head's paper contains not only an account of a series of interesting monuments belonging to the earliest period of numismatic art, but also places within the reach of the English reader much of that metrological lore in connection with ancient Greek and Asiatic standards which is stored up in the great German work of Brandis. It is to be hoped that ere long we may have some further illustrations of these remarkable early coins struck in electrum, which of late years have been found in greater numbers than formerly.

Mr. Gardner's Sicilian studies are of great value as showing how important may be the deductions obtained from a consideration of the types, the style of art, and the epigraphy of ancient coins when taken in connection with the recorded facts of history. It is evident that the same line of research which he has adopted for obtaining an approximately correct chronological arrangement of the coins of various cities of Sicily,

may be adopted with much hope of success in the case of the coins of other Greek cities. Sicily, no doubt, from its comparatively restricted size and the extent of its history still preserved, offers a peculiarly favourable field for such investigations; but when the sequence of the Sicilian coins—on which also Mr. Head has thrown much light—is firmly established, it will afford a means of comparison in some cases, and present features of analogy in others, which will be of great assistance to the scientific student of the early coinages of other parts of Eastern Europe and Western Asia.

The papers on the Jewish coinage by Mr. Madden well fulfil their object of supplementing what he published twelve years ago in his well-known volume on that subject. Much as we already know, and much as has been written about that coinage, it still appears probable that the last word has not yet been said either with regard to the chronology of the early shekels and half-shekels, or the classification of the coins of the two revolts. It would be out of place to enter into such questions here, but there is one point to which in passing I would call attention—the difference in fabric and spelling between the pieces of the first year and those of the second, third, and fourth. There are also some minute differences in the type, which are, perhaps, of less importance.

In Oriental numismatics, which are of considerable interest to several of our members, we have had papers from Mr. Kay and Mr. Stanley L. Poole; one of them giving the curious details of the history of an almost unknown potentate, the other adding ten unpublished coins to the four which were previously known of the Kakweyhís.

In English numismatics, Mr. Neck has furnished us with a very complete monograph on the silver coins issued from the Tower Mint under Charles I., which will be of great service to collectors as supplementing the works of Folkes, Snelling, Ruding, and Hawkins.

Mr. Vaux has communicated to us a curious indenture relative

to the issue of the farthing tokens, or "Harringtons," under James I.; Mr. Henfrey a supplementary note on the naval medals of the Commonwealth, containing some extracts from our State papers which might otherwise have escaped the notice of most numismatists; and Major Creeke has given us a list of several unpublished varieties of Anglo-Saxon and English coins.

A paper on the Tradesmen's Tokens issued in Devonshire during the seventeenth century, communicated by Mr. Gill, largely supplements the list given in Mr. Boyne's comprehensive work, and will prove of interest especially to the local antiquary.

On Colonial coins we have a short but important paper by General Lefroy, in which is now for the first time published the Hog money sixpence of the Somers Islands currency, of which none but the extremely rare shilling was previously known.

It is not to be expected that we should have had much on the subject of foreign numismatics, but the paper by Mr. D. I. Ghica contains much information with regard to Michel the Brave, Prince of Wallachia, an unique medal of whom is preserved in the British Museum, and whose history, now that the Eastern question is occupying so much attention, cannot but be of some general interest.

Such have been the principal communications to the Society during the past year, and it must be a source of satisfaction that we number among us so many whose writings give a high value to our publications. We may venture to hope that in future years they may still find their researches lead to new discoveries which they will communicate to this society, and that other members of our body, who have not as yet contributed to our publications the results of their studies, may follow the good example which has been set them during the past years.

The Treasurer's Report is appended:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1875, to June, 1876.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 57	37	13	0
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 58	36	5	9
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 59	26	15	0
„ Ditto ditto ditto Part 60	50	11	8
„ Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving, &c.	11	15	0
„ Messrs. Davy and Son, for Printing	1	12	6
„ Mr Quaritch, for loan of Stereotype Casts of Jewish Coins	6	6	0
„ Mr. Mealy, for preparing the Library Catalogue	7	0	0
„ The Autotype Company	28	0	6
„ Mr. Turpin, for Table, &c.	0	15	1
„ Mr. J. Ayres, for porterage, postage, &c.	1	2	6
„ ditto for attendance	5	0	0
„ ditto Rent to Christmas	20	0	0
„ Fire Insurance on £500	0	15	0
„ Mr. Head, for Postage, &c.	2	19	0
„ Collector, for Commission and Postage	7	12	6
„ Treasurer, Postage and Stamps for two years	0	18	6
„ Balance carried forward	100	12	0
	£345	14	0

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last statement	126	13	4
„ Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	49	13	4
„ Rev. T. Calvert, for ditto	4	4	0
„ Dividends, four half years on £305 17 10	18	4	0
„ Ditto ditto 102 1 3	6	2	4
„ Remittance for Postage	0	3	0
„ Entrance Fees	8	8	0
„ Annual Subscriptions	132	6	0
	£345	14	0
By Balance in hand, June 15	100	12	0

J. FREDERICK NECK, HON. TREASURER.

London, June 15, 1876.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

Vice-Presidents.

EDWARD THOMAS, ESQ., F.R.S.
W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S.

Treasurer.

J. F. NECK, ESQ.

Secretaries.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ.
BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ.

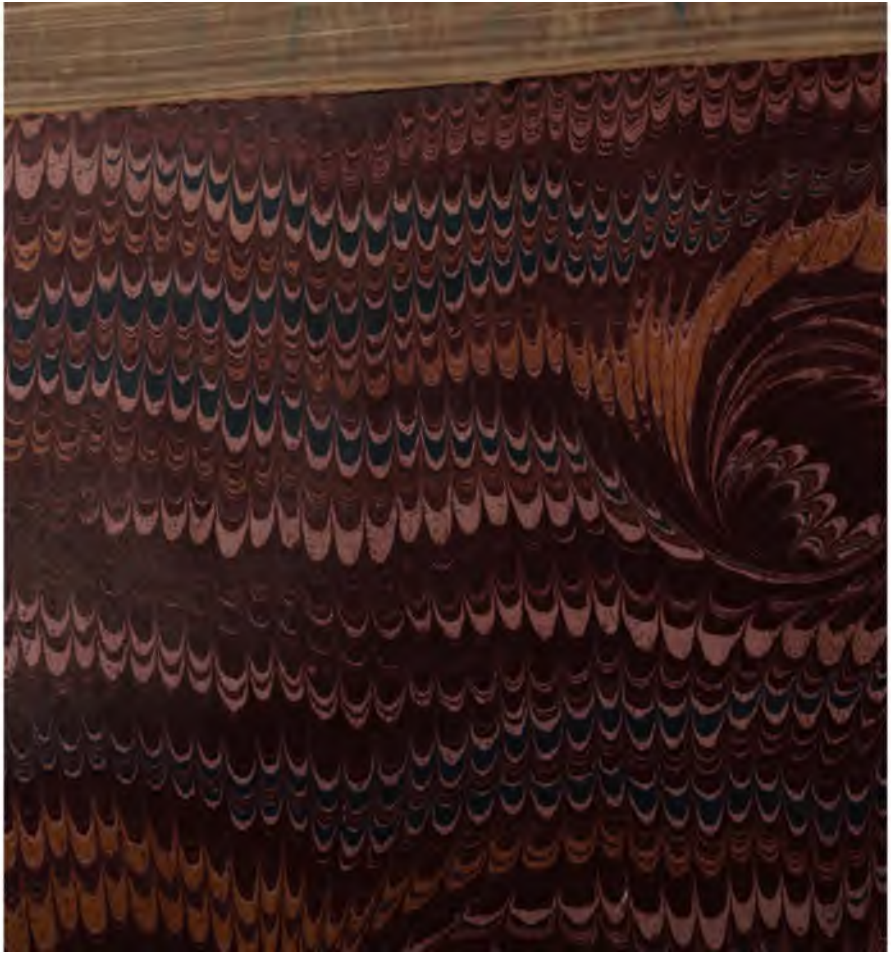
Foreign Secretary.

PERCY GARDNER, ESQ., M.A.

Librarian.

W. BLADES, ESQ.

Members of the Council.

T. J. ARNOLD, ESQ., F.S.A.
REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D.
S. BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A.
E. H. BUNBURY, ESQ., M.A., F.G.S.
RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.G.S.
THOMAS JONES, ESQ.
CHARLES F. KEARY, ESQ., M.A.
R. L. KENYON, ESQ., M.A.
REV. ASSHETON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.
E. T. ROGERS, ESQ.

OXFORD MUSEUM